

PEACE NEWS

No. 157.

LONDON, FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1939

2d.

GERMANY AND BRITAIN: TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING

Correspondence and Visits Can Help to Remove Present Suspicions and Fears

THE cartoon on this page aptly, if lightheartedly, illustrates one of the most tragic paradoxes of our time: while the ordinary folk of the earth pray for peace their statesmen pursue policies which will inevitably lead to war.

Relations between this country and Germany at the moment are illustrative of this. Anti-German feeling has rarely been higher here than it is at the moment: anti-British suspicion is widespread in Germany. And yet neither of the peoples desire the war that such misunderstandings, substantially political in origin, bring daily nearer.

The Peace Pledge Union is endeavouring, as part of its constructive work for peace, to arrest this dangerous trend by publicizing the just claims of the German people and demanding that they be settled finally and amicably by conference and concession; by organizing the mass despatch of friendly letters to German men and women chosen at random; by encouraging tours to Germany this summer; and by supporting other organizations similarly helping to restore friendly relations between the two peoples.

DURING the past few months relations between this country and Germany have steadily deteriorated.

We are returning rapidly to the mutual suspicion and hate of the years preceding the Great War.

Those who now raise their voices to urge the just claims of the German people, without condoning for a moment the outrages perpetrated in their name, are being called "pro-German" in the bitterest sense.

Perilous Misunderstanding

If ever there was a time when further misunderstanding would be perilous it is now. If ever there was a time when the ordinary folk of both countries should be made increasingly aware of their common interests it is now.

The Peace Pledge Union has made it part of its work for peace to strengthen the bonds of sympathy and trust between the German and the British peoples. To this end they recently organized the despatch to Germany of hundreds of personal letters from British pacifists to people in Berlin chosen at random from a post office directory.

We publish here typical replies. The actual letters may be seen at PPU Headquarters.

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Two Letters from Berlin

Dear Mrs. B.—

Thank you very much for your friendly letter of the 21st, which I received safely. I have read very carefully all that you have written and as a believer in Christ, I find myself in full and absolute agreement with you. I see great understanding and much sincerity in your worthy aims.

May Almighty God grant that mankind shall live in peace together.

God bless you.

With best wishes and greetings,

Yours,

Berlin,

20.4.39.

Dear Madam,

You begin your letter of the 19th April with the remark that I will perhaps be surprised by your letter. I think I can take it that you will now be more surprised than I was to have an answer from me.

It gave me pleasure to hear from you that you, contrary to the policy of your Government and Press, believe in peace and want to make efforts to maintain peace. I understand and approve when you in England carry on propaganda for a Union which demands from its members the refusal of military service.

I am, however, absolutely convinced that you would not find in Germany a single member for your Union.

In contrast to England, no single person in Germany wants the outbreak of a war. In Germany, therefore, there is no need to carry on propaganda for peace, because the whole German people has definitely turned down war, and wants to work and construct in peace. Were it otherwise, why should we have built such huge artistic buildings if we were thinking of an early war of aggression? With us, grandiose buildings are being erected for the welfare of all. In England, Air Raid Precautions schemes are being drawn up.

In Germany no-one has any interest in a war. In contrast to England, the armaments industry

is with us a State concern. The armaments profits (*tantimes*) which are usual in England are unknown to us. In Germany there are, therefore, no armament millionaires for whom the sacrifice of the lives of the peoples means gold.

And above all, in Germany an Adolf Hitler leads the people, a man who himself for 4 years experienced the horrors of what is so far the greatest of all wars. He himself, mutilated and poisoned by gas, lay in hospital for months wrestling with death. Do you believe that such a man wants war for his people, whom he loves? Adolf Hitler knows war; for that reason he wants peace! Do the statesmen of other peoples, e.g., President Roosevelt, know war from their own experience?

In this connexion I must also protest at your placing on the same footing the "injustices of the Versailles Treaty and Great Britain's actions in India, Palestine, etc." and Germany's action in Czechoslovakia.

I am afraid that, in view of the campaign of lies in your Press, you will not believe me that the German march into Czechia took place at the expressed wish of the legal Czech Government. You will, however, admit that the German people could not quietly look on when, in the middle of its living space, war aeroplanes and war aerodromes were being built by the Soviet Russians and French (with British money!). Or was it the German people to believe that the French and Soviet bombing planes stationed in Czechia would one day drop down olive branches into Berlin?

For the rest, things will go well with the Czechs under German protection. The Czechs will, in any case be much more fortunate than the English unemployed in England, and naturally also than the Arabs in Palestine, or the Indians and the other "free" peoples in the British Empire. This is already proved by the fact that the German march into Czechia took place entirely without bloodshed, which it is well known the British Government cannot assert that of its operations in Palestine.

I regret that I, who am so great an admirer of your immortal fellow countryman, Shakespeare, must speak with such bitterness of the policy of your country. But the present British



GERMANY:
See also page 5

That Russian Alliance

By the Plain Man

A GOOD many of the papers have been hailing the prospect of a military alliance with Russia as though it's going to mean "peace, perfect peace."

But military alliances have never yet meant anything of the sort.

Indeed, I want to suggest that it would be a much better idea to place our trust in the ordinary people in every land. Whatever we think of their rulers, you and I know that the plain man is pretty much the same the whole world over. He simply wants peace and the chance to live a decent life.

So why not build on that knowledge? Why not find some way of proving to him that we feel the same way ourselves?

You may think that the alliance with Russia is actually going to give the plain man a chance of the peace he wants. I'm not so sure.

Germany Puzzled

The other day a friend of mine had a letter from someone in Germany he has known for many years. The writer, who is known to me also, told how the people he meets are losing the feeling of friendship for the British which they have had for some time.

They are puzzled. They can't understand the British Government's latest moves.

They feel that Poland is showing a stiff front to Hitler over Danzig because she has the backing of Britain. And they think that's unfair because Danzig is largely a German city.

*

Now I'm not going to argue about the rights and wrong of that particular issue.

But don't you see how this alliance is

(Continued on page 7)

"Before the Tribunal"

THE REGULATIONS IN BRIEF : ADVICE FOR OBJECTORS

THE National Joint Advisory Bureau has published a memorandum on the Regulations attached to the Military Training Act, together with some advice to applicants on their appearance before the Tribunals.

The memorandum is obtainable from the Bureau at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, WC1, price one penny. We give below some excerpts from it.

REGISTRATION

If by any chance there has been a failure to register by mistake or an applicant who really desires to be registered on the register of conscientious objectors has by mistake been registered in the military training register (as was, we understand, done on the advice of some labour exchange managers) application ought to be made immediately to the Local Labour Exchange (and in any case before June 17th) for rectification of this mistake.

If for any reason a person has been found guilty of failing to apply for registration and subsequently desires to apply to be put upon the register of Conscientious Objectors, such applications must be made on the prescribed form (which can be obtained from the Local Labour Exchange) within 7 days of the day on which he was found guilty.

THE REGULATIONS

Applications

On application, the Conscientious Objector should state his desire to be registered in the Register of Conscientious Objectors and ask for the special form and provisional certificate. He may be required to state:-

His name and home address.

His place of birth.

Whether he is single or married.

The full name of his father and mother, with mother's maiden name.

The number of his employment book (if any).

Particulars of his present or past employment.

Particulars of his usual occupation.

Changes of Address, etc.

Any change of address or of the other particulars above must be made on a special form to be obtained from the Local Labour Exchange as soon as possible (penalty of £5 for failure to notify).

Application to Tribunal

The application should be made on the prescribed form (to be obtained from the Local Labour Exchange) and forwarded within 14 days of registration. The form will be found to provide about 13 sheets of foolscap on which the applicant is asked to make any statement he wishes in support of his application. At the end the three grounds of application are set out:-

Objection

- (a) To being registered in the Military Training Register.
- (b) To undergoing military training.
- (c) To performing combatant duties.

And the applicant is asked to strike out any of the items which do not apply.

Whatever motive or meaning there is in the three 'grounds' is so obscure and uncertain that an applicant will be well advised to make clear that he objects to (a), (b) and (c), unless he is prepared to do non-combatant duties, in which case he should delete (a) and (b) and leave (c). But his name will then be transferred to the military training register, even if his application is upheld.

Anyone, however, who claims either total exemption or exemption conditional on the acceptance of civilian training should make this clear by stating that he objects on all three grounds, and then set out the grounds of his application, the definition of his conscientious objection and the type of exemption claimed, i.e., either total or conditional.

We advise applicants to set down a simple and concise statement of their position and the steps or reasons which led them to take this position. The function of the Tribunal is not to decide whether the applicant's views are right, but whether he holds them honestly or not. Remember that an applicant is not asked to prove the validity of Pacifism or his arguments against war, but the fact that he really holds such a view conscientiously and sincerely. Any statement, therefore, as to membership of a pacifist or anti-war organization, church, &c., will help to support his case. The people who have enough presence of mind

applicant has to send the form back to the Divisional Labour Office.

TRIBUNALS

It has previously been stated that there would be twelve tribunals, but we now understand from the Ministry of Labour that this number is to be increased. No information is yet available as to how many there will be or where they will sit. You should, therefore, watch the Press for an announcement. A tribunal may sit in one central place or more about the district.

Due notice will be given by post to the applicant as to the time and place at which he is to appear before the Tribunal. The Tribunal will consist of a chairman (who must be in England a County Court judge, or in Scotland a sheriff or sheriff-substitute) and four members, all of whom are to be chosen by the Minister of Labour with due regard to the necessity of selecting im-

partial persons, one of whom shall be appointed after consultation with labour organizations. The hearing of applicants will be PUBLIC unless the Chairman for special reasons directs that the public and the Press shall not be admitted.

Representation

The Minister of Labour may be represented by Counsel or Solicitor. The applicant may be represented by Counsel, Solicitor, representative of any trade union to which he belongs, or by any person who satisfies the Tribunal that he is a relative or personal friend of the applicant.

Evidence

The Applicant may call evidence in support of his statement. The Tribunal may require that any such evidence shall be given on oath.

Appeals

The decision of the majority of the Tribunal shall be the decision of the Tribunal, but an applicant may appeal on the prescribed form (to be obtained from the local Labour Exchange) to the Appellate Tribunal within fourteen days from the date of the local Tribunal's order.

We advise that under normal circumstances the applicant should state his own case in his own way, being ready to produce any testimonials or certificates of membership of pacifist organizations, &c., which he may have, or to call friends to support his claim.

It would be a real help if a local bureau could arrange to have a barrister or

solicitor present with a general watching brief for all cases, and a sympathizer amongst the general public to watch and report.

It is hoped that local bureaux will:-

- (a) Help any applicant to prepare his case.
- (b) See that if an applicant has to travel to another town he is met by someone from the other bureau and made to feel he is still among friends.
- (c) Send report of all cases to the Joint Advisory Bureau.

We would again advise any applicant who goes before a Tribunal to treat the members with every courtesy.

PENALTIES

Punishments

If an applicant is fined for any offence and prefers not to pay the fine but to undergo an alternative period of imprisonment, the Court cannot exact the fine from his parents.

We are making inquiries as to whether any period of imprisonment counts as part of an enforced period of training.

For further information about Penalties, see the Description of the Military Training Act, issued by the Joint Advisory Bureau.

Dismissal of C.O.s

The Minister of Labour has said that he would be glad if any case of a man's dismissal by reason of his conscientious objection or any refusal to reinstate after a period of civil training could be brought to his notice.

Although local bureaux should deal with the normal cases, any special cases which involve special legal points or any such dismissals should be reported at once to Cecil Wilson, M.P., House of Commons, for reference to the Special Committee of M.P.s which meets every Tuesday at the House of Commons at 7 p.m.

From the Editor's Notebook

No Need to Fear Show Your "Colours" This Week's Contributors

A MEMBER of the Peace Pledge Union to be preparing for peace undeterred by all who recently visited Brussels tells me the war preparation about them is, I am sure, a great help in removing fear.

This can be done, as correspondents write to point out, and as I myself have experienced, by members of the PPU coming out into the open by wearing their badges.

It is really heartening to recognize a comrade—not by his face, which one may not know, but by his badge.

Our Contributors

THE contributor who "speaks personally" in our columns this week is an expert on modern history. After his Honours School with distinction, in Modern History, GEORGE EDWARD CATLIN was Lecturer in Medieval and Modern History in Sheffield University from 1920 to 1923.

From the following year until 1935, he was Professor of Politics at Cornell University, USA, and during that time he wrote a number of books on political subjects. These included *The Science and Method of Politics*, published in 1926, and *Study of the Principles of Politics*, three years later.

Among PROFESSOR CATLIN's best-known books is *Preface to Action*, published five years ago.

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The writer of our page 6 article this week, ALFRED BARRATT BROWN, is collecting material for a possible memoir of the late LORD ALLEN.

Any who possess letters from LORD ALLEN that may be of interest, or who can contribute their own recollections of any incidents of his life or public work, are asked to communicate with BARRATT BROWN at The Malt House, South Stoke, near Goring-on-Thames.

Our contributor is well known as the Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford.

*

BARRATT BROWN's very close friendship with LORD ALLEN was undoubtedly rooted in their common and deep faith in democratic principles.

PRINCIPAL BROWN has acted as secretary to the Next Five Years Group, which came into being to work out and give expression to the idea of democratic leadership which was so very largely the product of ALLEN's brain.

Democratic Leadership was actually the title of BARRATT BROWN's Swarthmore Lecture, delivered and published as a book last year. And the same author edited *Great Democrats*, published in 1934.

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3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4

The experience of last week's page 6 writer, DAVID ROBERTS, has been very varied and interesting.

After being employed in Cardiff by a number of different kinds of firms, as well as by the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Health, and having travelled and worked abroad, he eventually obtained a post as stenographer on the Geneva staff of the League of Nations, in the Russian Refugee Section, which became the Nansen Office for Refugees.

That was in 1929. After about 18 months he "found the atmosphere of the Nansen Office irrespirable," so he left. A month later he was offered a secretarial post on the staff of the Lytton Commission to China.

MR. ROBERTS's experiences in the Far East were the beginning of his disillusionment with the League.

"It's attitude and action in all the other 'incidents' it has handled have simply confirmed my disillusionment," he tells me, "though I still think that a League is necessary, and I realize that much magnificent non-political work is still being done by certain sections of the existing organization."

He has now been on the staff of Callender's Cable & Construction Co. for two years. But he adds that "if the famous 'emergency' arises, I shall have to leave it, because the company will at once start to manufacture armaments."

Bad Citizens

CONNECTED with the American Campaign for World Government, news of which appears on our foreign news page (3), is ROSIKA SCHWIMMER, the internationally-known feminist and pacifist.

Ten years ago, a majority decision of the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the American tradition of freedom of conscience and laid the legal basis for military conscription even of women by denying her citizenship for refusing to promise to bear arms in defence of the Constitution.

MME. SCHWIMMER is noted for her dramatic and very effective peace activity to stop the War by continuous mediation and to establish an all-inclusive, popular, non-military federation of nations. She had inspired the organizing of the Woman's Peace Party in 1915 under the leadership of the late JANE ADDAMS, and had organized the Ford Peace Expedition.

Since, in the case of MME. SCHWIMMER, the Supreme Court interpreted the oath of allegiance to the United States as being a military pledge to bear arms in defence of the Constitution, many conscientious objectors, men and women of the highest integrity, have been refused naturalization while some notorious alien murderers, spies, and nazi agitators have been admitted to American citizenship!

FEDERATION OF NATIONS: AMERICAN PLAN

President Roosevelt Urged To Give A Lead

LEADERS of patriotic groups and peace societies in America agreed at a committee hearing of the Wisconsin Legislature recently in support of a resolution urging President Roosevelt to call a world constitutional convention to establish a federation of nations along the lines of the United States Constitution.

Mrs. Ella M. Bresee, a leader in many patriotic groups, joined Mrs. Charles D. Rosa, legislative representative of the Madison branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in urging the State Affairs Committee of the Assembly on May 25 to report the resolution favourably.

Introduced by Assemblyman Jack Harvey (Racine Progressive) the measure also had the written endorsement, with two slight changes in wording, of Dr. Anton J. Carlson, well-known physiologist of the University of Chicago.

A WORLD PARLIAMENT

The world federation plan outlined in the resolution would include direct election of representatives in a World Parliament. All nations would be invited to send delegates to a world constitutional convention as a first step.

The full text is as follows:

"Whereas, the people of all nations, overburdened by heavy debt for armies and armaments and nevertheless in ever-present danger of war, look for leadership to bring order out of confusion of international affairs; and

"Whereas, international order cannot be peacefully established otherwise than by an appeal for world co-operation addressed to all nations; and

"Whereas, our own national existence at peace in a democratic federation of sovereign States provided a well-tried pattern for successful World Federation and fits the United States of America to take a bold initiative in offering the federal system to all nations; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the assembly, the senate concurring, that the President of the United States hereby be memorialized to take without delay the necessary steps to prepare a plan for the calling of a world Constitutional Convention which shall draw up a Constitution for the all-inclusive, democratic, non-military Federation of Nations essential to the life of civilized man. Be it further

"Resolved, that a properly attested copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States."

WHEN A MAN RUNS WILD

Mr. Harvey, the introducer of the resolution, combines economic progressivism with a lively interest in international affairs. Ever since the early 1930's he has been a leader in the fight for freedom of speech and the right of labour to organize and bargain through representatives of its own choosing.

In introducing the resolution, he said:

"We feel that the principal reason for the failure of leagues is that when a man like Hitler, for example, runs wild, then all the nations in the world hold it against all the people in Germany instead of putting the blame upon the people responsible. In a system like this, that weakness would be remedied, and the violator would be the one to face the music, and not the entire nation."



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TRADE IN LIFE OR DEATH?

Cordell Hull Says World Must Choose

THE world must decide immediately whether "commerce shall be primarily in materials and weapons for human destruction or in things people need for peaceful consumption."

So said Mr. Cordell Hull, American Secretary of State, when he inaugurated Foreign Trade Week which was observed recently in 39 States of America and by 37 American Chambers of Commerce abroad.

"Today the pride of rulers is concentrated in the number of their tanks and bombing planes," he added. "This must end."

"There must be an end to the attempt to substitute for fair discussion the threat of stronger arms, and an agreement to limit and ultimately lessen the creation of armaments."

NEWS FROM ABROAD

How India Sees the British Empire

STRESSING that the Indian Nationalist movement has stood for many years for full independence and the severance of its tie with the British Empire, Jawaharlal Nehru, writing in Asia, says that "recent events in Europe have made this an urgent necessity for us, for we cannot tolerate association with British foreign policy and the possibility of our resources being utilized for wrong ends."

"We must control our foreign policy, our finances and our defences, and have perfect freedom to develop our own contacts with other countries."

Foreign affairs, he says, are thus casting their long shadow over the Indian national struggle and the growing consciousness of this makes India look at the world with ever-increasing interest.

"She thinks of the day, which may not be long distant, when she will be a free country, and already she prepares mentally for that change. The British Empire is fading away before our eyes, and everyone knows that it cannot hold India in subjection for long."

New Zealand Likes "Peace News"

In order to put *Peace News*—"the best pacifist paper we know"—into as many as possible of the seventy odd public reading rooms in the Dominion, the New Zealand No More War Movement has collected some seven or eight pounds which it is asking the Ensom Peace Fund to subsidize to the same amount.

Should its request be granted, the Movement will send the fifteen pounds to London asking us to send copies for one year to as many public reading rooms (of which we will receive a list in order of importance) as possible.

Thank you, New Zealand!

International Youth Rally

Another of the popular youth rallies is being held at Jevington Youth Hostel, near Eastbourne, Sussex, on Saturday and Sunday, July 1 and 2, when it is hoped that a number of overseas visitors will again be present.

Cars will leave London about 2 o'clock on the Saturday afternoon.

There will be talks and discussion on some topic of international importance in the evening, and on the Sunday, after a short interdenominational service, there will be a ramble over the South Downs to the coast where lunch will be taken.

Cars will return in the late afternoon reaching London about 8 p.m. The total cost of the weekend including transport, food, and accommodation will be in the region of 8s.

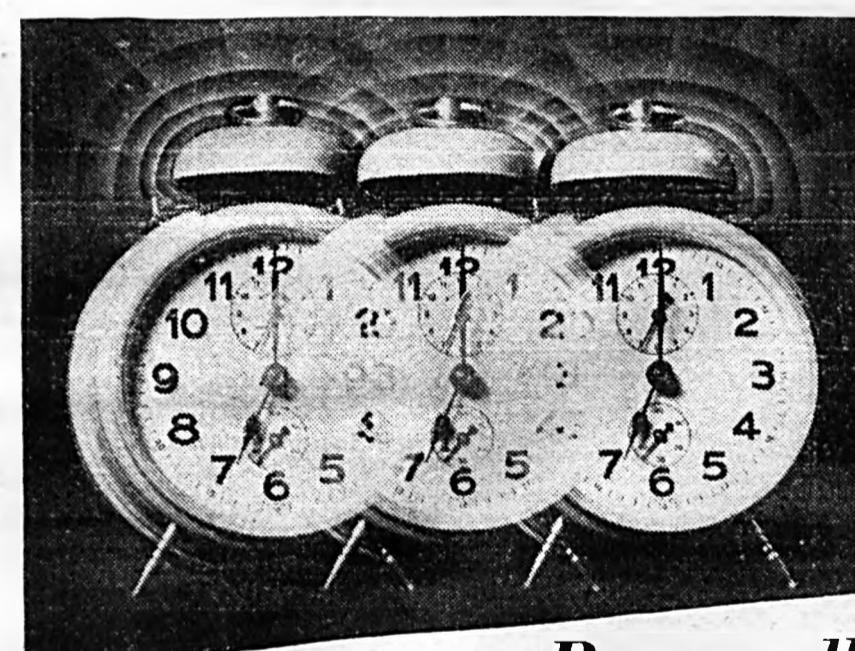
In view of the time of year, early bookings should be made to Mr. S. W. Fullerton, 5, Selston Road, West Norwood, S.E.27, from whom any further information can be obtained.

International Summer Camp in France

An International Summer Camp will be held in France from July 22 to August 12 under the supervision of Youth House.

The site of the camp will be Chateau, Fren-euse, sur Risle, Montfort, St. Philbert, Eure, Normandy.

The approximate total cost from London will be between £6 10s. and £7 10s. for 14 days, and application (with 10s. deposit) must be received by the Camp Secretary, Youth House, 250, Camden Road, London, N.W.11, by July 1.



Repeatedly . . .

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Prof. G. E. G. CATLIN

"Speaking Personally" on PERPETUAL PEACE . . .

I AM interested in peace, not "a peace" —which, as Clemenceau said, may be merely an alternative method of making war. I am interested in the reign of law. But it must be a Natural Law, built on equity, not some merely man-made convention whereby old forces seek to guarantee themselves for all future time against new forces. That is a distortion of law—mere dead man's law and political mortmain. Men must keep pacts. Also, however, men must seek to do justice and remove injustice.

Voice are now beginning to say in high places that there can be no peace until we see the end of State sovereignty. That has been self-evident for twenty years. But men refuse to recognize the obvious, and as one of the shrewdest, best informed critics on international affairs, the late Frank Simonds, said, "men who profited by the present system never would recognize it."

So Sir Austen Chamberlain invented for the League the phrase "a free assembly of sovereign nations"—as who should say "a squared circle." There can be no lasting peace until the State ceases to be, and the World State succeeds it. We must abolish the State.

Destiny of Small States

I AM, therefore, quite uninterested in the independence of small States. It is a great pity that they came into being as the result of the War. They are breeding grounds of future wars.

Small States leave me cold, as, for that matter, they left Lenin cold, when they interfere with more important things. They have rancorous histories of international quarrels. I cannot become interested on their behalf. They ought to be swallowed up. That is their destiny. It is also a great pity that large States exist, save so far as they contribute to world unification.

I do not object to small nations. They are very different. In them is the very life of the spirit. I believe in the self-determination even of the smallest nations. Considerations of security and of economic life must come second to this self-determination.

A State has no right to guarantee its security at the expense of the self-determination of another. Its security should be guaranteed along with that other by an international organization that transcends both.

If there were no sovereign States there could be no question of "my security" against "your self-determination." I have no right to this kind of individual security. I have no moral right to sovereignty at all, which is the fount of the entire evil. "I have only a right to nationhood," as Mazzini said, "in the orchestra of the nations." I have only a right to cultural autonomy.

The State is the war maker. It must be killed wherever found. We need the federation of all nations, as peoples—not States. We respect the nationality of peoples as we respect the personality of people. People, however, are more important than peoples—especially the people that is humanity, all human beings.

The Pacifist Road

HOW shall the State be killed? By the lie-down strike. By non-co-operation in murdering men—other fellows doing their admitted job—for the sake of Polish honour" or the "sacred soil" of Roumania (I quote that). That is the route the pacifists will take. There must be no truck with defending Polish honour or sacred soil, or even Roumanian rule over minorities in lands that these minorities think theirs, and not sacred to the Roumanians. But the question will be asked: What about defending liberty and justice?

Now here it is necessary to say hard words. Pacifists must consider what societies they are most like. And these societies are the Quakers, and, yes, the early Christians. Now the Quakers in their early days used to withdraw themselves from civic life. Doing justice and defending liberty with the sword—even in the American War of Independence—were causes from which, as a Society, they withdrew. But the early Christians were even less hesitant. Any knowledge of their actual history will show that.

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So says Professor Catlin in this, the first of two articles on "Perpetual Peace."

"Speaking Personally" is a forum for the expression of individual opinions, to which Professor Catlin is the twenty-fifth contributor.

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The kernel of early Christianity was a sharp division between "The Church" and "The World." With "The World" it practised non-violent co-operation. It was not interested either in liberty or in social justice—the world's liberty and the world's social justice. The Epistles, especially that to Philemon, make that clear. The Christian was concerned with his own community based on right rules and with true liberty and true justice among those of the brotherhood. For the rest his task was to change the "world," not to resist it. Unless the pacifist re-enters into this mood and recovers it he will have no peace of soul. I do not say that he has not also a task "in the world," to inculcate constructive measures, e.g., of international economic understanding, removing some of the incidental, and indeed grave, causes of war.

Seeking an Answer

HER HITLER is not worse than the Roman Emperors; he is much the same. And the Roman Emperors were not

much worse than Herr Hitler. Again, he is not worse than some capitalist and imperialist systems outside Germany. Miss Macaulay's dilemma must be answered from the conduct of the Christians under their Emperors or of Gandhi today in India under an alien Raj.

We may say that civilization and progress depend upon energy, resistance and the weapons of war—that without this heroic and dynamic adventure civilization will lose nerve and muscle. That is the Nazi argument. Or we may say that we must have just one more great war and that after then peace will be established for ever after. That is the Marxist answer; and it is muddle headed. For it does not solve the problem of power and lust for power—of human nature.

Or we may answer that civilization depends for its advance—all its scientific advance, and in human happiness—upon peace between all common men, who are much the same, when not whipped up by hysteria and resentment, on both sides of frontiers. And the works of civilization are the works of actual peace and not of actual war, whether called "indivisible peace," "collective security," "the only way to peace," "something that is coming to the aggressor," "grand alliance," "holy alliance," and "no encirclement" or "a fence round the aggressor" (again I am quoting). That is the pacifist answer.

Some Readers' Answers to a Reader's Question

IN our May 5 issue we invited readers to tell us how they would answer the following argument for renouncing pacifism in time of war, which had actually been put forward by a non-pacifist:

"Granted that pacifism is practicable as a national policy, yet, if war occurs, pacifism in this sense will have failed, at least for a time. In these circumstances, pacifists will be unable to prevent the sufferings and destruction involved in a modern war."

"Yet, if pacifists are sufficiently numerous, they may result in England losing the war and in the domination of Europe by a cruel and despotic Nazi system whose influence over the whole of the world will be far worse than any influence that may be exerted by a victorious England. Under the Nazi system, in fact, the world may experience conditions similar to those of the Dark Ages."

"Thus, even granted the pacifist contention as to the consequences for England of a modern war, even granted that war is stupid, futile and wicked, yet, in the event of war, it is wrong for pacifists, by their opposition, indirectly to aid in the conquest of Europe by the barbarous systems in vogue in Germany and Italy today."

"Therefore, if war occurs, pacifists should not selfishly adhere to their principles but should endeavour, even if indirectly, to bring about the successful conclusion of a war waged against the rulers—though not against the mass of the people—of Germany and Italy. For to say the least, the worst English system will not be more horrible in its consequences than a victorious German system."

More than fifty replies to this argument were received. We print below the three which have been selected as the best. To the writer of each will go a prize consisting of books to the value of 5s.

★
By Miss Olive Robotham, Stockton-on-Tees:

"Is not this argument put forward mainly by people who feel that the suffering of Germans and Italians counts less than that of English people and their allies?"

"We have little conception of the hardships

undergone by Germany—food shortage, currency inflation and mass unemployment—as a result of the Great War. If she lost a second war it is quite likely that she would have to suffer still more, but there is no reason to suppose that Nazi Germany would prove more vindictive and ruthless than the Allies were or that a German victory would be followed by worse consequences for humanity as a whole than a British victory."

"Besides, in order to defeat Germany, we should be obliged to adopt totalitarian measures ourselves, and if Germany suffered a second defeat another leader worse than Hitler might arise."

"But my real objection is that the end never justifies the means. We ought to do what we feel to be right now, whatever we fear the consequences maybe. If pacifist action were sufficient to have any effect on the result of the war, it would necessarily limit its scope and duration and in so doing lessen the suffering caused."

★
By David Davies, of Tylorstown, Rhondda, Wales:

"1. You cannot wage war against the rulers of Germany and Italy without the wholesale massacre of millions in the process. War kills the innocent rather than the guilty. Indeed, it is the very people who are responsible for wars that are likeliest to escape their consequences."

"2. But the guilt is no monopoly of Italy and Germany. The Nazi and Fascist systems owe their origin and continuance to an unjust economic world order which England is largely responsible for creating and perpetuating. These systems, therefore, can only be overthrown by the removal of national and international injustices. Another war would only entrench the evils of Totalitarianism in the mind and life of the world."

"3. If you did fight, you would not be fighting for liberty or justice or democracy or any other ideal which you think England stands for. You would be fighting for the profits and privileges of the very people whose selfish policies have brought this disaster upon us."

"4. No—the only way out is for England to disarm, internationalize her Empire, and sacrifice her imperial interests for the sake of her own and world peace. Such a policy would solve all dictatorships and usher in a new era."

Small Nations . . .

"I AM quite uninterested in the independence of small States. It is a great pity that they came into being as the result of the War. They are breeding grounds of future wars."

"Small States leave me cold, as they left Lenin cold, when they interfere with more important things. They have rancorous histories of international quarrels. I cannot become interested on their behalf. They ought to be swallowed up. That is their destiny. It is also a great pity that large States exist, save so far as they contribute to world unification."

So says Professor Catlin in this, the first of two articles on "Perpetual Peace."

"Speaking Personally" is a forum for the expression of individual opinions, to which Professor Catlin is the twenty-fifth contributor.

ness of the Jews, the oppressed. Both showed the same entire lack of faith.

"The centurion, through faith, caused a miracle to be worked, but only through faith. No miracle could be worked to free the Jewish nation from their bondage because they had no faith."

"Pacifism is faith. William Penn had the faith and witnessed the miracle, even amongst semi-savages. Let pacifists lose their faith in God's power and desire to work through His obedient servant, let them try to cast out Satan with Satan, and the last state of this country will be worse than the first."

If prize-winners would name the books they would like to the value of 5s. these will be sent.

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A weekend school devoted to a consideration of pacifist propaganda will be held at the Friends Meeting House, Wellington Street, Northampton, on Saturday and Sunday, July 1st and 2nd.

Lecturer: JOHN BARCLAY.

PROGRAMME:

SATURDAY, JULY 1st.

4.30. Tea.
6.30. Lecture and discussion:
"Propaganda Methods in General."

9.0. Social.

SUNDAY, JULY 2nd.

2.30. Lecture and discussion:
"Personal Contacts."

5.0. Tea.

6.30. Devotional Hour on:
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Quakers' Fine Emigration Record

A LARGER number of refugees from Greater Germany were emigrated by the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends during May than during any previous month.

During May the GEC emigrated 74 German refugees from five countries to the following countries: Argentine, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, New Zealand, Paraguay, Siam, Spain, Southern Rhodesia and the USA at a total cost of £2,854 4s. 2d.

Tomorrow (Saturday) the first party of German refugees trained by the GEC under the YMCA agricultural training scheme at the Flint Hall Farm, Hambleton, near Henley, will sail for Australia.

The party will consist of fifteen boys, who, after their preliminary training, have had experience on individual farms in different parts of the country. They had a farewell party at Flint Hall Farm last week.

REFUGEE WEDDING

The first wedding of a member of the staff of the GEC since they moved to Bloomsbury House took place last week, when Adda Stehr, German shorthand-typist, married Hermann Radunz.

Adda came to England in the Spring of last year, and after helping in a Basque children's camp, and undertaking other work, joined the staff in January.

Her husband was a press photographer in the Spanish Government's Propaganda Department and left Barcelona only one or two hours before it fell to General Franco. He was brought to England by the GEC after spending some time in a French concentration camp.

Mr. and Mrs. Radunz hope to emigrate to Australia later.

IN PALESTINE

In Palestine, refugees are arriving in dire need of help.

The task of providing for their most urgent need—food—has been assumed by the "Kitchen" Women's Social Service.

An indication of the great need that exists is to be found in the fact that in Tel-Aviv alone some 500 people are boarded every day—some free of charge, and some at a very reduced rate that does not cover expenses.

CONTRAST

The dinner to be given to their Majesties on Wednesday night by the Quebec Government will be on a magnificent scale. One course will consist of the greatest delicacy in Canada—the breasts of snow-birds. Eight breasts are to be used in each patty served, and 2,750 breasts are already cooked for the feast.

"These rare birds appear only during two weeks every year in the Isle of Orleans off the Quebec Coast. Thirty men were sent to the island to snare them for the Royal feast."—*News Chronicle*.

*

"Fourteen shillings a week was all she had to keep a family of eight, a Deptford mother told Mr. J. Watson, chairman of Southwark Juvenile Court."—*South London Press*.

Anti-Nazi Film Propaganda

The *Evening Standard* reported on June 1 that "Wallis has just set a Hollywood fashion by making *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, with Edward G. Robinson. Other companies held back stories which might be considered anti-Hitler propaganda until Warners stepped in."

How authentic is this film likely to be since Wallis admits later in the report that the Warner people haven't been anywhere near Germany for five years?

Free Education for Refugees

The wardens and fellows of Winchester College have decided to award five places without fees to the son of persons expelled, or about to be expelled from their homes in Central Europe.

Before the boys can be admitted the headmaster has to be satisfied as to their character and intellectual standard. One place has been filled already.

The local committee for Jewish refugees must find the boys homes and the necessary money for their maintenance.

WHAT SOME GERMANS ARE THINKING

Evidence of Popular Desire for Peace

REATIONS with Germany are steadily worsening.

Anyone who refers to the Germans as people like ourselves, or who supports the legitimacy of their claims, is jibed at as "pro-German." Not least responsible for this frame of mind is the present attitude of the national press.

The following extracts by people who have made contacts in Germany, may help to restore some kind of balance.

"A Charming People"

Miss V. G. Mogford, of Birmingham, who recently returned from a visit to Germany, writes:

"Long before I went to Germany I was a pacifist, but since returning my pacifist convictions are even stronger. Not because the Germans I met are pacifists, but because they are charming, kindly people, who certainly do not want a war (and, moreover, do not expect one) and to pick a quarrel with them, as our Government at present seems intent on doing, would be an insane shattering of a brotherly link which, if somewhat overshadowed in England just now, is at least still strong in Germany."

"I said that we have got to recognize that the German man in the street is not a pacifist. Well, who blames him if he believes in force? He waited fifteen years for us to show some signs of helping him out of an intolerable situation and we didn't lift a finger. Since then he has found that what he cannot get by trusting in our sense of fairness he can get by a show of arms and if, after that experience, he is not a passive resister, I personally, cannot blame him.

But because neither the German people nor we want a war and because we have let slip by the golden opportunity of showing a generous spirit before Germany rearmed, I feel that it is up to us now to find another way; and isn't pacifism the only other way?"

"We have tried everything else; pacifism we have never tried. Let us prove to ourselves, Germany, and the whole world, that armed might is not the only power; that we still have a sense of justice and fairness, as Germany hoped from 1918 to 1933; that, despite all disappointments, mutual trust and pacifism in the end will work."

No War-Mindedness

Writing in *The Motor*, "R. L. W." describes what he found in Germany:

"No scowls, but many smiles in the villages; much waving. Few Swastika flags, no postcards of the Führer on sale in the shops so far as I could see, no militarism, no ARP, no aeroplanes, no searchlights, and in fact, no trace of the war-minded there is here, either outwardly or in conversation. Plenty of uniforms at Nurburg, as usual, but then there always were, and no soldiers, so far as I saw...."

"All were rather surprised when I explained what our conscription really amounted to. No one could understand our militant interest in Poland. I tried to explain, that, too, but they couldn't see our point. No one thinking of a war, and certainly no one wanting one. All felt that we were the same way of thinking too."

Worshipper of England

A reader wrote to a German friend, whose job it is to train young Post Office messengers and clerks, asking him if he knew a young lad who would like to spend his holidays in England.

The German friend replied: "From the moment I enrolled in the Postal Service, I became a worshipper of the English and England, and I have made it my aim to teach the staff at these POs to help the English tourists when they want information about postal or private matters."

Asked why he was learning English, the nineteen-year-old boy who was chosen, said:

"I wish to contribute to the maintenance of good will toward the foreign public. I believe we boys are the tie which connects the friendship on both sides."

Hitler's Speeches Valuable

In contrast, Charles Roden Buxton said recently in the *Manchester Guardian* that we relied for the most part on the reports of journalists and English visitors, and suggested that a study of Herr Hitler's speeches was also of great significance when studying German public opinion. His letter then proceeded along those lines.

The letter has now been reprinted in leaflet form and copies are obtainable from Alexander C. Wilson, 8 Erskine Hill, London, N.W.11.

"Christians and Aggression"

Mr. Carl Heath's article on "Christians and Aggression," which appeared in the March 31 issue of *The Friend*, has now been reprinted in leaflet form and is obtainable from the Northern Friends Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2. The price is 1d. per copy or 2s. 6d. per 100.

A Vow to Help Our Fighting Fund

MISS EVELYN WRIGHT, a Northampton reader, in sending a donation to the Peace News Fighting Fund, writes:

"I take two copies of *Peace News* each week and afterwards post them to friends away in different towns, or leave in a bus or train in the hope that others will read them."

"I am not a member of the PPU but sympathize greatly and was reminded of your fighting fund on Thursday last when, in Canterbury Cathedral, I went into the cloisters and saw Canon 'Dick' Sheppard's grave."

"I vowed a solemn vow as I stood by that grave, that I would, when I got home, at all cost, sacrifice something in order to send you a donation for your fund and so I have much pleasure in enclosing a cheque for five shillings."

Will you, too, help us in this way? We are glad to acknowledge the following contributions from those who have:

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The Fighting Fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's work the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. (This amounts to £750 for the current year.)

Donations of any size will be welcome and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to *Peace News, Ltd.*—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Meanwhile, the ultimate need of the paper is a larger circulation.

Here is a way in which individual readers can help to gain us that wider circulation: send us the name and address of anyone to whom it would be worth while sending a specimen copy of *Peace News* and we will do so.

Use the form below, and if you want to send more than one name and address please attach a separate sheet of paper.

To the Distribution Department,
"Peace News,"
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Please send a specimen copy of
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Fund to Aid Objectors

At its recent meeting the National Council of the PPU discussed the question of appealing for a special fund for any who might suffer financially by reason of their objection to the military training scheme.

It was decided not to make a national appeal for the present but to encourage groups to put aside what money they can as help will have to be given through local sources.

At the same time a Central Fund has been opened and any contributions sent to H.Q. earmarked for that purpose will be used to implement local help as far as possible. If the need should arise every endeavour will be made to make this Fund as adequate as possible in the circumstances.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157

Subscription Rates: Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.
THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:-

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

June 16, 1939

The Editor's Point of View

GET ON WITH THE REAL JOB!

NEITHER the dictators' attacks on small countries nor the democracies' counter attempts at alliances have made Europe's condition more like peace or less like war. The most hopeful thing since then has been the spectacular message of the President of the United States telling the dictators that if they would promise not to attack any more countries, he would see about calling a world conference.

But Herr Hitler's reply, if it did not itself make for peace, showed how little Mr. Roosevelt's move had done for peace.

For the reply was, in effect, a very long way of saying, firstly, that there is a terrible lot of apparently deliberate misunderstanding of Germany's position, and secondly that there is an understandable distrust, in the dictatorships, of the democracies' good faith, on account of what they have done in the past to build their own empires and what they do now to keep them.

*

Since then the long drawn-out and not very successful efforts to extend this country's promises to fight for others have made the situation more like war, and nothing has been done to make it more like peace.

Indeed, our Government practically ensured this even before Herr Hitler spoke. I refer, of course, to the decision to bring in conscription in this country. For conscription is not an emergency measure that can be dropped when the situation improves: it is a deliberate move to prepare young people for war.

There matters are allowed uneasily to rest. No Government moves toward peace; and if none moves deliberately toward war, it is obviously easier to slip or be pushed in that direction than in the other.

*

Even a direct challenge to our own Government to do something about it has had, so recently as Monday of this week, no real effect.

Mr. Arthur Henderson asked the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on that day whether he would state the conditions which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, were essential to justify confidence that a world conference would secure a real settlement of all outstanding international problems; and what action his Majesty's Government were willing to take to prepare the ground for holding such a conference. Mr. Chamberlain said:

In the opinion of his Majesty's Government such a conference could only succeed if accompanied by a general feeling of confidence that all the participating Governments sincerely desired a just settlement, and intended to keep both in the spirit and the letter any pledge or undertaking given as a result of the conference. His Majesty's Government will always do their best to promote such a spirit of confidence, but can only succeed if other Governments make a like effort.

Which will tend to confirm the pessimist's fears that the damage done by bad faith in the past is really too great to be repaired now.

*

There are, of course, the confirmed optimists. For them the hope of averting war permanently may not be so slender as to depend upon a miracle.

But the hope of making peace must be the same for both optimist and pessimist. For it depends upon nothing more nor less than right foundations.

And though there does not seem to be any reason why governments should not help to lay such foundations, there is certainly no reason to leave it to Governments. In fact, that is the real job of people like you and me—war or no war. It really depends upon us.

That is why we oppose war—all war, since even a righteous war, if there were such a thing, would hinder laying the foundations that are necessary for peace. That is why we oppose war preparations—even if "only for defence," since our job is to make preparations for peace. And that is why we oppose conscription, and work for its repeal, since, if people will not willingly help us lay the foundations of peace, they at least should not be compelled to add to the machinery of war.

Humphrey S. Moore

Clifford Allen and Conscription

By A. BARRATT BROWN

THE revival of military conscription brings home the more sharply the loss which we have so lately suffered by the death of Lord Allen of Hurtwood, who, as Clifford Allen, was chairman of the No Conscription Fellowship from 1915 to 1919.

He kept to the end not only his personal pacifism but also his abhorrence of conscription, and in one of the last talks I had with him before he was taken out to Switzerland he spoke with all his old fervour of the iniquity of compulsion for war service.

The last few weeks have brought back to my mind the conventions of the No-Conscription Fellowship, whose extremely varied membership he contrived by his personal leadership and inspiration to unite in a way which gave strength to our common protest without dissolving the individuality of our several outlooks.

His chairmanship, indeed, of the NCF during the War, of the ILP in the years after the War, and of the Next Five Years Group more recently, was a signal illustration of the pacifist faith in which he lived. He was able by sheer persuasiveness and gentleness of spirit to bring together and to hold together persons of all parties and groupings of opinion.

Absolutist Views

IT was Clifford Allen who helped the NCF to find a common basis which expressed the moral convictions of the conscientious objector to military service in a way that was designed on the one hand to satisfy men of every kind of religion or of none and on the other hand to exclude the merely political objector.

At the first conference of the Fellowship in November, 1915, he expressed for us in his presidential address our common faith:

"The members of the No Conscription Fellowship base their fundamental objection to conscription on this ground; that whatever else a State may or may not do, whatever infringement of individual liberty a State may or may not effect, there is one interference with individual judgment that no State in the world has any sanction to enforce—that is, to tamper with the unfettered free right of every man to decide for himself the issue of life and death. We contend that the individual conscience alone must decide whether a man will sacrifice his own life or inflict death upon other people in time of war, and that however far the State may impose its commands upon the will of the community, the right of private judgment in this particular case must be left to the individual, since human personality is a thing which must be held as sacred."

Allen himself, while tolerant to all the shades of difference among conscientious objectors as to the point at which they must refuse to comply with the law, was an Absolutist, and could not accept exemption "conditional on doing work of national importance." In addition to the feeling that acceptance of conditional exemption was "compounding a felony," or that it might mean releasing others for the front, another reason which weighed with him was the fact that the Tribunals offered "work of national importance," not as an opportunity of rendering useful service to the community, but rather as a means of inflicting disabilities in the name of "equality of sacrifice." Many men were taken from valuable work at which they were highly skilled to perform unimportant jobs for which they were unqualified.

Broken in Health

IT is encouraging to those of us who worked with Allen during the last war, and like him went to prison for our principles, to note the acknowledgment by Mr. Chamberlain, when explaining the exemption clauses in the new Bill, that "it was both a useless and an exasperating waste of time to force such people to act in a manner which was contrary to their principles."

We remember by contrast the remark of Mr. Lloyd George in 1916, when he said of the Absolutists: "I shall only consider the best means of making the path of that class as hard as possible."

It was certainly made as hard as possible for Allen, who was broken in health though never in spirit by 15 months of imprisonment. He was spared to us for another twenty years by a miraculous triumph of mind and spirit over bodily weakness. And it was a dauntlessly heroic effort for European peace that brought him to his death. As Sir Arthur Salter wrote in *The Times* after his death:

"He was clearly warned of the great danger to him of his visit to Europe last summer under the physical conditions of abnormal heat and flight at a great altitude. He then signed his death warrant, as he knew he might be doing, with only a short reprieve."

THOSE who were privileged to be his most intimate friends know how constant and profound were the convictions that remained at the heart of his life and work amid all the changes—not of front or direction, but of policy and method—which he felt compelled to take in the critical years for England and Europe since 1931.

Some of us could not support, as he did (though always and only as a second best), the LNU policy of "collective security" by a preponderance of force. But we recognized the sincerity and honesty of his mind, and we admired the courage with which he faced, again and again, misunderstanding and loneliness of spirit.

If he criticized some aspects of the work of the Peace Pledge Union, and in particular the too negative character of its pledge, he was in full sympathy with its constructive programme for international economic justice, and he welcomed the formation of groups for the better understanding and strengthening of the spiritual faith on which pacifism must be built. He often spoke of his longing to see a new Order of Gentleness and Mercy, in which the members could come together for mutual reinforcement of spirit.

And now he is gone from us, at a time when we can ill spare his voice and counsel, but the memory of his beautiful and courageous life is a living inspiration to those who are facing the menace of a new Conscription Act and the test it will bring to their pacifist faith.

An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

EMMA LAZARUS

A sonnet entitled "The New Colossus" dedicated to the Statue of Liberty, and inscribed on the walls thereof:

NOT like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of exiles, from her beacon-hand
Glowes world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbour that twin cities frame.
"Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

VICTOR HUGO

A DAY will come when you, France; you, Russia; you, Italy; you, England; you, Germany—all you nations of the Continent—shall, without losing your distinctive qualities and your glorious fraternity, even as Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace—all the French provinces blended into France.

A day will come when war will seem as impossible between Paris and London, as between Rouen and Amiens, between Boston and Philadelphia.

A day will come when bullets and bombs shall be replaced by ballots, by the universal suffrages of the people, by the sacred arbitrament of a great sovereign Senate, which shall be to Europe what the Parliament is to England, what the Diet is to Germany, what the Legislative Assembly is to France.

A day will come when a cannon shall be exhibited in our museums, as an instrument of torture is now shown, and men shall marvel that such things could be.

A day will come when we shall see those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, in face of each other, extending hand to hand over the ocean, exchanging their products, their commerce, their industry, their art; their genius clearing the earth, colonizing deserts and ameliorating creation under the eye of the Creator.

To you I appeal, French, English, Germans, Russians, Slavs, Europeans, Americans, what have we to do to hasten the coming great day?

Love one another!

JOHN MILTON

O SHAME to men! Devil with devil damned Firm concord holds. Men only disagree Of creatures rational, though under hope Of heavenly grace; and, God proclaiming peace, Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife Among themselves; and levy cruel wars, Wasting the earth, each other to destroy; As if (which might induce us to accord) Man had not hellish foes now besides, That, day and night, for his destruction wait.

Opposition to Conscription Still Goes On

BIRMINGHAM MASS MEETING DEMANDS REPEAL OF ACT

TWELVE hundred people crowded into Birmingham's Town Hall on Sunday to a meeting called by the No Conscription League, and were unanimous in passing the following resolution:

"This meeting of Birmingham citizens proclaims its unalterable opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to work untiringly for the repeal of the Military Training Act."

Mr. John S. Hoyland, who presided, was accompanied on the platform by leaders of the Labour Party, the Co-operative Movement and the Churches.

Describing conscription as a crime against God, humanity and democracy, the chairman opened the meeting by quoting Mr. Chamberlain's own words in Manchester that: "Conscription is contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy."

Miss Jennie Lee, Scottish Socialist and miners' champion, pointed out that conscription would involve industrial conscription, and would affect all ages—men, women and children. The new conscript army would, in fact, be used when required against the British workers themselves.

"Conscription of the twenties is only the thin edge of the wedge," she said. "Fascism is at the root of it. The Chamberlain Government has too much Fascism in its own soul to want to fight Fascism. We are living in a society where the lives of ordinary people are used as pawns for the protection of one propertied group against another."

The Rev. Alan Knott, of Birmingham, described conscription as "the prostitution of the spiritual heritage of our youth," and said it must be resisted.

"It would be better to have a millstone hung around their necks than for old men to cause youth to stumble on the question of militarism and war," he said.

"NO PERSECUTION" OF HONEST OBJECTORS Government's Wish Recalled

WE have received from readers many inquiries concerning the assurances given to Parliament by the Prime Minister as to the treatment of conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act.

We accordingly reprint below the salient points from Mr. Chamberlain's speech introducing the second reading of the Bill:

I believe it will be generally agreed that we have dealt with this particular class of exemption of conscientious objectors in a broad-minded manner. They constitute a class which must necessarily always present great difficulties. We all recognize that there are people who have perfectly genuine and very deep-seated scruples on the subject of military service, and even if we do not agree with those scruples, at any rate we can respect them if they are honestly held.

But there is a great variation in the way in which people are affected by scruples of this kind. There is the most extreme case, where a man feels it his duty to do nothing even to aid or comfort those who are engaged in military operations. Probably that is the smallest of all classes of conscientious objectors. But it often happens that those who hold the most extreme opinions hold them with the greatest tenacity. We learned something about this in the Great War, and I think we found that it was both a useless and an exasperating waste of time and effort to attempt to force such people to act in a manner which was contrary to their principles.

Then there is another category, who take a less extreme view. They take the strongest exception to being connected directly or indirectly with the military forces or to having anything to do with military service, but at the same time they are anxious to make it clear that they are not less patriotic than their fellow citizens, and not less anxious to bear burdens and sacrifices for the national cause, although they cannot accept them in one particular form. They will therefore be glad, provided that their scruples are not infringed, to undertake work which could be represented as work of national importance, although not connected directly or indirectly with military service.

Then, again, there is another category still less extreme. Their view is that they are not prepared to put themselves in a position where they might be called upon to take life, but they have no objection, on the contrary they are eager and anxious, to do their share in saving

life. They do not want to be left out altogether; they do not even want to be left out of the military forces, provided that their work in the military forces can be confined to non-combatant duties. They, therefore, are ready to serve in such bodies as the Royal Army Medical Corps, and in operations like mine-sweeping.

Then there are lastly those, very few in number I think, who are really shirkers and who would take advantage of exemptions of this kind to avoid a duty which lies upon every citizen of the country. I should anticipate that the temptations to take advantage of such provisions as there may be in the Bill by people of the kind I have mentioned will be much less than they were in the Great War.

All these various categories that I have enumerated are dealt with under Clause 3. It will be seen that anyone who is a conscientious objector, whichever class he may fall into, has first of all to make an application to be put upon a special register. He then goes before a local tribunal, and that tribunal assigns him to the appropriate category.

I think it will be clear that a great responsibility attaches to the local tribunal. Therefore, special care will have to be taken in choosing those who are to sit upon these tribunals. We can lay down the general line on which we want the tribunals to proceed, but it is impossible to do more than that in a general way, and the particular circumstances of each individual must be investigated and judged by the local tribunal before it is possible to decide into which of the categories, if any, that individual ought to be allocated.

I want to make it clear here that in the view of the Government, where scruples are conscientiously held, we desire that they should be respected and that there should be no persecution of those who hold them. All we have to do is to see that they are not abused, and to try to provide for these special cases of people who are not prepared to undertake the ordinary combatant service but wish to do national service of one kind or another.

N.C.L. in Scotland

Branches of the No Conscription League are to be formed in the Glasgow district as a result of a conference held in Glasgow recently.

Mr. J. Doherty told the conference that letters had been received from all parts of Scotland appealing for advice and information. Each of these letters had afforded an opportunity to investigate the possibility of forming a branch in that particular area.

By getting into touch with local affiliated organizations it would be possible to organize groups, and he suggested that even a National Council was not impossible. A National Conference in conjunction with the English NCL Youth might also be arranged.

Worthing Ministers Protest

Five ministers in and around Worthing have protested in the Press to the Government's new policy whereby young men, not being considered competent to vote, are being systematically prepared to destroy their brother men and to think that war is natural and inevitable.

They have further pledged themselves to "support to the best of our ability all those whose reason and conscience make it impossible for them on Christian grounds to undertake military service, and place ourselves at their disposal if they will communicate with us."

The ministers are: Rev. J. C. S. Chamberlain (Findon Valley Church), Rev. David W. Evans (Chapel Road Methodist), Rev. Arthur Fincham (Vicar of East Preston), Rev. W. McLeod Girdwood (Shelley Road Congregational) and Rev. Rowland Smith (St. Matthew's, Worthing).

Advice in Wallington

Two groups of people are trying to advise young men in the Wallington district on conscription problems.

The first group, consisting of local clergy, and ministers, offers help to any, whatever their difficulty.

The other group is composed of pacifists who declare that their aim is "to enable young men to hear the different sides of the case and the consequences of their actions."

As reported on page 10, the Wallington group of the Peace Pledge Union has already carried out a door-to-door distribution in six surrounding towns of the leaflet *Why you should think about Conscription*.

Committee of Ministers

It was decided at a meeting of ministers of various denominations held in Manchester last week, to form committee of ministers, with a legal adviser and a psychologist, to give advice and guidance to those young men called up for service under the Conscription Act who may be conscientious objectors or in doubt as to what their response should be.

Commenting on the fact that the meeting was a small one, the Rev. Etienne Watts said that 250 circulars announcing it had been sent out to clergy of the Anglican Church alone. It seemed to him thoroughly disgusting that a proposal which made such a breach in the traditions of this country should be passed over in comparative silence by the majority of the men who claimed to be the leaders of the Christian life of the country.

L.C.S. Resolutions

At special general meetings in Stratford, Acton, Southend and Holloway, following the April half-yearly meetings of the London Co-operative Society, a resolution affirming opposition to National Service and conscription, and advising members to join, and organizations to affiliate to the No Conscription League, was rejected, chiefly because members had little or no information regarding the NCL.

This decision has been widely misrepresented as indicating that the LCS voting membership is not opposed to National Service and conscription. Actually two other resolutions, denouncing imperialist rivalries, and indicating "absolute opposition to conscription in any form and in all circumstances," were carried at the same conference by large majorities.

A further resolution, urging the LCS "to give full legal and moral support to employees who resist conscription and to support them at Tribunals," was carried unanimously.

Sparkhill P.P.U. Statement

The following statement has been received from the Sparkhill group of the Peace Pledge Union:

"Members of the Sparkhill group of the PPU welcome the fact that 1.7 percent of the men of 20 to 21 registered Conscientious Objection, and pledge support to the young pacifists concerned.

"We wish statistics could be obtained from the Nazi Government of Germany, but we hope they met with at least 2.5 percent of refusals on the introduction of conscription there."

"We shall not rest until the day when the peoples of the world refuse to obey their War Offices in sufficient numbers to make war obsolete for all time."

Guildford Meeting

Twenty years old A. Attewell told a Guildford conscription meeting last week why he was one of the town's nine conscientious objectors. "My greatest aim in life," he said, "is to see that the spirit of Jesus Christ is fostered in human life, in the liberty of the individual and by the highest welfare of the community."

Miss Sybil Morrison stressed that conscription should be a matter of concern for women because of the influence they had in the world and their responsibility. "All reforms," she said, "have been brought about by those who refuse laws which they think are barbarous. You have a right as an individual to resist a law which you believe is morally wrong and which your conscience cannot accept."

Carl Heath also opposed conscription on the question of freedom and the Christian religion. There was another way they could solve their

Women Can Stop War

As long as women call men brave when they will not, there will be war. As long as women let themselves be swept into thinking what everybody thinks and believing what anybody says, and so adding their individual hysteria to the silly hysteria of the mass mind, there will be war. As long as women will not see the difference between the lies of people who want war and the facts that show war is not necessary, there will be war. The power of women is a subtle thing. It is the influence which every woman has upon some particular man. Let that woman convince that man that war is foolish because it gains nothing and that he is a ridiculous figure when he is dressed up in a uniform, and the first great step to world peace will have been taken."

—Pearl S. Buck, West Virginia. Author of "The Good Earth."

problems and it was through concern, consideration and concrete propositions.

Organized jointly by the Society of Friends and the Peace Pledge Union, the meeting was presided over by Gerald Bailey.

Welwyn P.P.U. Explains

The Welwyn Garden City group of the Peace Pledge Union has made full use of the press to make clear its position regarding conscription and to offer "sympathetic advice and sympathetic support to any who have come to feel it right to refuse to be conscripted or to join the military preparations."

A large advertisement spread right across the bottom of one page in the local paper, and a letter from the chairman of the group on another, served well to enlighten the public on the PPU's attitude to national service and conscription.

North London Conference

A North London conference of the No Conscription League will be held in Friends House, Euston Road, London, on Saturday, 24th June, from 3 to 6 p.m.

The speakers who will speak to the main resolutions will be Dr. C. A. Smith (National Chairman of the ILP), Mr. Kenneth Lee (Peace Pledge Union), and Mr. W. H. Morris (prospective Labour candidate, Hampstead).

Further details from K. R. Plumer, 184 Tottenham Lane, London, N.8.

That Russian Alliance

(Continued from page 1) going to strike those ordinary folk in Germany? They're going to feel that Hitler is right when he cries that Germany is being encircled."

You may think that Germany ought to be encircled if she is aggressive. But please don't forget those ordinary people.

There has been some doubt whether they would be behind Hitler for long if war came. But if you give Hitler good grounds for telling them that other countries are jealous of Germany and are encircling her, you're doing the very thing that will make them support Hitler.

You may think this is not worth worrying about. Well, even Vernon Bartlett thought it necessary to report some weeks ago that propaganda talk about "encirclement" in Germany was beginning to have effect even on opinion formerly opposed to Hitler.

★

Now comes this alliance to cap it all. On paper it may look like working out well.

But I think that if Britain, Russia and France had worked on different lines, and offered to sit round a table with every other nation and to play their part in sharing the good things in this world, it would by now be almost impossible for Hitler to drive the Germans to war.

Once again you needn't take my word for it—or that of any pacifist. Just remember what Ernest Bevin said at the Labour Party conference at Southport:

"You have got the great mass of 'haves' together controlling ninety percent of the world and 75 percent of the world's population, and controlling the great finance and money power of the world."

"If you can bring it together for defence, could not you pool it economically?"

"Germans have said to me that all we ever have is military pacts."

If a Labour leader says that, you can bet it wouldn't mean "giving in to Hitler"; for Labour leaders aren't fond of Hitler.

But Mr. Bevin was thinking of those ordinary people in Germany and all over Europe who are wondering if they will soon see the black shape of the bomber over their cities.

Will you think of them, too, when you read any more high-falutin' stuff in the newspapers about this alliance with Russia?

BOOKS

Propaganda and Politics

By ROY WALKER

"The New Propaganda," by Amber Blanco White. Gollancz, 7s. 6d., and Left Book Club.

LEFT Wing opponents of pacifism are forever telling us that the causes of war are entirely economic. They insist that the economic system is to be blamed for working the people and not that the people are at fault for not controlling or changing the system.

They do not tell us which law of economics determines that any given economic crisis must collapse into uneconomic war—which must be followed by economic settlement by other means, since war settles nothing. The economic war is, under modern conditions, so uneconomic that not even the victorious community is likely to be better off at the end of it.

And when it is pointed out that in almost every country millions of people are acting against their own obvious economic interests and at the same time preparing to kill and die for the economic interests of others, the point is often dismissed by a dogmatic statement that propaganda is omnipotent.

The value of Mrs. Blanco White's book, *The New Propaganda*, is that it relates modern psychological science to current European affairs and balances the Left outlook by insisting that the behaviour of mankind is not exclusively conditioned by economic factors. It is a much-needed corrective.

Most pacifists probably have an intuitive belief that propaganda is not all-powerful, but they will be well advised to read this important book and find out what scientific evidence supports this belief. Mrs. Blanco White is a distinguished politician as well as a psychologist and she has been able to collect materials from high places abroad which alone make the work important.

★

PROPAGANDA is first considered from the point of view of a dictator. Dictators cannot afford to appeal to reason. Reason "tends, for the time, to keep men divided rather than to unite them; it works slowly; it will only affect reasonable people." But an appeal to emotion, particularly in circumstances where anxiety, guilt and hostility are aggravated, reaches everyone, produces unity and tends to exclude criticism.

This is the key method of modern propaganda; know your audience, understand their fears, their worries, their disappointments, the foundation on which their confidence is based, what they think right and what wrong—and play on these." Because this is the method, the propagandist is tied down by the emotional condition of the people he wishes to influence. He can defect but he cannot reverse existing feelings.

A leader who has once committed himself to these methods cannot afford to relax, cannot encourage his people to think for themselves during his own lifetime; the results might be fatal to his regime and himself. The exploitation of the feelings of the people must be followed up with more and more propaganda of the same type.

The dictator's most powerful asset is "the enemy." A people in the abject condition of the Germans after the Great War were an easy prey to a leader who could tell them that the "Jews"

"Pacifists" and "Communists" were really responsible for the state of the country; that he would shoulder the responsibility for leading his people and defeating these enemies; and that he would place the country on an equal footing with the other Great Powers. The more acute the distress, the greater the appeal of these wild promises.

But man is not simply the product of a particular political and economic situation. Sooner or later, consciously or unconsciously, other wants will make themselves felt. Sacrifice will cease to be enough and if the dictator has not given prosperity, at least he must quickly provide substitutes for prosperity—glory and the sense that for everyone the State has a place and a job. But even these are only temporarily effective. There is no permanent substitute for tolerable standard of living.

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THE third section of *The New Propaganda* is therefore devoted to a discussion of the stability of social systems. The conflicts below the surface in totalitarian countries between the capitalists who helped the dictators to power and the dictators who have made themselves independent to some extent by establishing themselves at the head of the armed forces are brilliantly analysed. But social revolution depends a great deal on the temper of the revolutionaries and Mrs. Blanco White devotes a chapter to the "converts" in Fascist States and another to the new generations.

Of the older generation she says "leaders of social revolutions who cannot raise the standard of living will find that their propaganda is losing its effect, and that they must still govern by force, or threat of force, an older population whose only permitted outlet for resentment is smothered hatred, apathy, inefficiency and conscious or unconscious sabotage."

What of the younger generation? To answer this question the fundamental assumption of the modern psychologists is invoked. Men are born with very different temperamental predispositions. And the influences which play the chief part in shaping these congenital traits into the final mould of character operate so early in life, are so little understood, and so unamenable to control by governments, that individual children even in totalitarian States will continue to differ greatly from one another. . . . No modern student of education is likely to believe that the result of all this pressure will be a simple, contented co-operative generation, steady in the workshop, furious in battle, bent on self-sacrifice and devoted to its masters."

The Heart of Christianity

A Possible Religion: The Christian Way of Life. By Basil Martin, M.A. Lindsey Press, Is.

"MY purpose," says Mr. Martin, summing up this essay, "has been to show that even in this disorderly world, amidst so much confusion of thought, it is possible to find a religion that we can believe and practise."

The belief can be summed up as follows: "Christianity is the love of persons"; and the practice as follows: "We have to do with the present. We are called to a life of courage, self-denial and heroism. It is also a life of sorrow, for the higher our purpose, the more our moral nature is developed, the more we feel the troubles of those around us; but it is also a religion of joy. There is no greater happiness than that which comes from sympathy and service."

These discoveries of the meaning of Christian belief and practice are simple enough; they are none the worse for that.

Mr. Martin's sincerity is complete; his exposition intelligent and charming; his argument just; his humility winning. It is not often that the heart of Christianity is so surely and cleanly stripped, without bitterness or righteousness, of dogma and institutionalism.

Mr. Martin leaves it a reality that must appeal to the ordinary and kindly humanity of all those who profess and call themselves Christians; nor will it fail to move those who do not. His essay takes the truths he deals with out of the realms of sectarianism and leaves them free to make us free.

R. H. Ward

SPECIAL OFFER TO 'PEACE NEWS' READERS

The "New Leader," I.L.P. Organ, which leads the struggle against Conscription and War in the Labour Movement, will be sent to you for 2s. 6d. for six months, post free, if you use this form.

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.....

Post with 2s. 6d. to "New Leader,"
35, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.

IN the last section Mrs. White argues forcibly that it would be fatal for the Left Wing to adopt any of the basic methods of totalitarian propaganda. Although emotional appeals and exploitations of the tendency to respect any established authority—a tendency resulting from the child's early family life—are repeatedly used by the Right whose aim is the maintenance of a privileged minority, the aim of the Left is not merely the winning of elections but the creation of stable, intelligent individuals; this end will not be achieved by encouraging uncritical emotional reactions to propaganda. In any case, as Mrs. White candidly points out, the Right can beat the Left at this game because they have the established authority and almost unlimited resources. Pacifists who want the PPU to beat the military at their own game of bands, marches, uniforms and pageantry would do well to think over Mrs. White's arguments.

The remaining chapters deal with legitimate methods of propaganda, involving an examination of the psychological motives behind the adherence of "the respectable classes" to the Right, and a dissertation on the uses of the rebel.

But comprehensive as *The New Propaganda* is in its scope, the pacifist will want a good deal more. Would Mrs. White consider writing the necessary complement to this study of propaganda in the State—a review of the propagandist effect of foreign policies? This overwhelmingly important aspect of the subject is practically ignored in the book under review.

Even Herr Hitler does not dare to rely entirely on mythical enemies. The war preparations of the democracies, the military alliances directed against fascist countries, the use of the worst weapons of war within the Empires of the Democracies and even in mandated territory (Palestine, e.g.) and the fire-eating speeches which, in this country, come mostly from the Left are the basis of accurate fact which is surely essential—at least in time of peace—to successful propaganda.

To the pacifist it seems that that immediate removal of these trump cards from the hands of the dictators might be the deciding factor in preventing war and in strengthening in the totalitarian peoples the healthy impulses which may lead them eventually to replace their present despots by more liberal-minded governors.

What does the psychologist say to that? When you apply this important modern science to the pacifist proposals of disarmament and a fair deal do you come to the conclusion intuitively held by the pacifists—that the way to live at peace with people and to help them to live at peace is to behave towards them as you want them to behave towards you? It is time we had an answer to this question; perhaps Amber Blanco White will supply it.

More "Bricks" Wanted

THERE is still a response to Laurence Housman's suggestion at the opening of Dick Sheppard House, the new headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union, that every member should "be a brick" and help to pay for the house by sponsoring one of the 124,000 bricks of which it is built.

Up to Wednesday morning

10,010

bricks had been sponsored.

Mr. Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be glad to receive any further contributions at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

The Bondholder's Bounty!

£330,000,000 of the annual national income is absorbed in loan charges on public debt. The figures are:

Loan charges on the Local Government Debt	£100,000,000
Loan charges on the National Debt	£230,000,000
	£330,000,000

This £330,000,000 of the British consumers' income would otherwise have been spent with the retailer and taken goods off the home market.

Instead, the surplus goods on the home market which this money would have bought have to be exported, restricted, or destroyed.

Labour Leader on Futility of Force

ADDRESSING a conference of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions recently, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, MP, deputy leader of the Parliamentary Labour Group, said it was imperative that all the nation's intellectual and moral power should be developed.

The victory of force proved nothing, he added. It was the victory of knowledge, of reason, of moral power that was permanent.

The final destiny of mankind would be determined not by the use of the mailed fist but by the firmness and clearness of the human mind and spirit.

P.P.U. Executive Meeting

Youth Campaign Coming

A CAMPAIGN specially directed at youth will shortly be launched by the PPU.

David Spreckley was authorized by the Executive Committee at its first meeting on June 6 to form a committee, whose first job will be to convene a conference in London of youngsters between 14 and 21.

Manchester Venue of Next A.G.M.?

MANCHESTER may be the venue of the next PPU Annual General Meeting. PPU leaders in the city will be asked by the Executive Committee to examine the facilities for hospitality, &c., required for so large a gathering.

Women's Group

MARY GAMBLE is the moving spirit in an attempt to form a PPU Women's Group, whose primary task will be to put the pacifist message before the women of the country.

Reporting to the Executive, she said that she would be happy to hear from all women pacifists who would be willing to help. They may write her at her home, Grey Garth, Brant Broughton, Nr. Lincoln.

Area Representation

AS a concession to areas whose representatives on the National Council may not be able to be present at occasional council meetings, the Executive Committee decided that absent delegates may be represented by a deputy who shall have a "watching brief," with no power to vote.

Federal Union

THE Executive heard a representative of Federal Union, who asked the PPU to give support to his organization.

The spokesman was closely questioned, and it was decided not to accord officially the support he asked for, but to recommend groups that they should organize debates between Federal Union and the PPU for the public discussion of problems mutually concerning the two bodies.

Membership Rising

THE total membership of the PPU is now 126,633. During May 1,714 new members were enrolled.

Literature Committee

THE Executive has elected the following Literature Committee: Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, Philip Mumford, Geoffrey Palmer, Max Plowman, Reginald Snell, Andrew Stewart, R. H. Ward.

To aid the committee a Literature Advisory Committee, consisting of Laurence Housman, Vera Brittain, Geoffrey West, Eric Gill, Wilfred Wellok, Reginald Reynolds and Dr. D. A. Crow, was also appointed.

It is expected that at its first meeting the Literature Committee, which will have full responsibility for literature issued under the auspices of the PPU will appoint from the members a small emergency committee with power to act immediately on occasions when it is not possible to summon the whole committee in time.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"The Pacifist Dilemma" :: Air Raid Precautions in Germany

MAY I endorse Miss Macaulay's letter about pacifism and national cruelty?

It is so dishearteningly impossible for the majority of people to truly balance the facts of, say the annexation of Czechoslovakia, that one is apt to be content with maintaining a non-committal reserve when the question arises in the ordinary way.

But when confronted with an exiled refugee the inadequacy of this attitude must be startlingly revealed, and though it can be said that an Arab concentration camp would give one the same feeling, it seems to me to be a too-easy pitfall to think that because British methods are so far from irreproachable the wrong-doings of other countries' governments must be overlooked.

The international as well as national value of passive disapproval is surely a principle of conscientious objection. It is the sifting of the facts that seems to be the almost insurmountable handicap, and for this Miss Macaulay's suggestion for wide discussion is surely the only remedy.

MARJORIE THOMAS.
Hillcrest, Comp., near Borough Green, Kent.

Miss Macaulay asks "Where to draw the fine line between friendliness to a nation and apparent excusal of the behaviour of their government."

"Probability is the guide of life." If, as the result of an international conference, Germany regained her colonies and England, France, Germany, and Italy agreed to equal disarmament, Fascism and its leaders must of necessity lose their power.

It seems criminal to postpone this international conference, when the alternative is quite definitely international bankruptcy and chaos.

In the present war atmosphere, which this unprecedented race in armaments has engendered in Europe, all injustices and crimes become matters of military expediency, and consequently are excusable from the military point of view. Humanity and compassion are out of place and truth is useless.

The only way to reverse this hideous sequence and to give justice to the individual—Jew and Christian, black man and white—is for an international conference to be called. Unfortunately, this conference cannot take place at Geneva, as long as Clause 6, with its military commitments, traduces the pacifism of the League and the Covenant but there is, as Mr. Shaw reminds us, the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

C. S. PAYNE.
117 Berkeley Court, Baker Street, N.W.1.

I have read Miss Macaulay's article and the other contributions on "The Pacifist's Dilemma" with interest.

The question raises conflicting personal issues, but as I see it pacifists have at all times and in all circumstances to try to take the long view and pursue their policy toward an understanding friendship and co-operation between all nations notwithstanding political ideologies and fanatical philosophies that cut right across their own ideals of humanitarianism and freedom.

Perhaps I am optimistic, but I see, beyond—or because of—the assault on the spiritual values of life, an intense desire on the part of sensitive people in every nation to make another effort at working together within a Union or League (call it what you will) framed in the light of past experience.

Pacifists can do much to ensure that the foundations of any such organization are built upon a real will to co-operate and are free from the backing of "force" which played such a large part in the break-up of the Geneva effort.

For me, therefore, even at the risk of misunderstanding and the charge of condoning cruelty—or even of furthering it—there can be no fine line drawn between friendliness to a nation and apparent excusal of the behaviour of its government. But I am tremendously anxious that the comprehensive issue of how greater effort can be centred on the work of getting all the nations to consent to act co-operatively can be speeded up. This is a haunting dilemma.

GERTRUDE SCHUTTE.
9 Palace Road, S.W.2.

In her answer to her American lecture agent, Miss Brittain wrote: "At the moment I believe that the dishonesty of war propaganda tends to over-emphasize

KEEP IT UP!

DURING the past few days there has been a tremendous increase of activity by the Peace Pledge Union. We must not slacken off again but exert ourselves still more.

Few people suddenly become pacifists. Even apparently sudden conversions are probably "last straw" cases. We cannot hope that one leaflet or one visit will have much immediate effect on thinking people, but if the ideals of pacifism are continually put before the public it is certain that their thought will be influenced. (The Government realizes the value of continuous propaganda.)

There are still many members of the PPU who prefer to concentrate

on becoming good individual pacifists and to use very little energy for propaganda. I agree that we cannot hope to influence others to ideals to which our own lives do not bear witness; but I doubt whether we can become good pacifists (or good at all) by setting out to consider our own development.

If we forget ourselves in an intense striving to make our ideals a practical reality in the world we may, as individuals, become nearer to them; and we shall certainly do something far more important.

MARION E. HAMLYN.
16 Morley Crescent, West,
Stanmore, Middlesex.

the aggressions and persecutions of Germany (for which the crimes and blunders of the victors in the late War are in the last resort responsible) and to underrate those of Russia and Poland—the latter of which has persecuted the Jews at least as cruelly and over a longer period than Germany..."

At first a few comments with regard to the responsibility of the victors in the last war, for the present crimes committed by Germany: In 1914 there was no Treaty of Versailles, the Germans had great areas in Africa as colonies, their trade was flourishing in all parts of the world, and still it was not enough for them. The idea of world domination was just as prominent in the minds of their leaders as it is today. For years the great German patriot and pedagogue Professor F. W. Foerster has been warning the pacifists of England and Germany of the untold harm they do in trying to minimize the danger of the Prussian military spirit which has never died out.

Without wishing to excuse anything in the way of injustice meted out to Germany after the war of 1914 to 18, I should like to ask which treaty was more iniquitous, that of Versailles or that of Brest-Litowsk? What crime has been perpetrated against Germany since Versailles by the victors, compared with the robbing and looting of Poland in the years of German occupation from 1915 to 18? When they were on the crest of the wave early in 1918, what were the German plans with regard to the punishment of the Allies? What they have suffered is mildness itself compared with what they inflicted or would have liked to inflict before Versailles, on others.

The statement in Miss Brittain's article about Jews being more cruelly persecuted and for a longer time in Poland than in present-day Germany, is utterly false. As a resident in Poland during many years, I went about freely and mixed with people in a normal way. One met Jews everywhere. I can lead Miss Brittain at any time to hundreds of Jews in high positions in Poland—as doctors, professors, lawyers, businessmen—who, if they are honest and law-abiding, have no reason to fear persecution. In a provincial town where I visited last summer, out of seventy lawyers five were Christians! When or where was this state of things tolerated in pre-revolution Russia, or present-day Germany?

It is true that Nazism in Germany has had a strong influence on young hot-heads of the extreme nationalist group in Poland, but the Government has tried to repress violent outbreaks, and some professors have even resigned their positions at the universities in protest.

During recent turbulent years Poland, in spite of her poverty caused by having been a battlefield in the Great War, also by the world crisis, has taken in ten times as many refugees as England. A very intelligent Jewish lady said to me last summer: "Our conditions in Poland are golden in comparison with those in Germany."

EMILY M. ROSE.
38 Midholm, N.W.11.

Special Purposes Leaflets

We occasionally issue special purpose leaflets, most of which have met with general approval and good results. It has been suggested that other groups and regions might find our ideas useful; the type is usually kept standing for reprints, and the advantage of this could be passed on if desired.

Our two latest issues are a Publicity Van handbill with inquiry form attached and a leaflet for tackling "dead" districts, also with inquiry form, which is a normal feature of our publicity. I shall be pleased to send copies to anyone who is interested.

S. E. HALES,
Hon. Secretary, Andover Group and
West Hampshire Region of Peace
Pledge Union.

The Drove, Andover, Hants.

and to use very little energy for propaganda. I agree that we cannot hope to influence others to ideals to which our own lives do not bear witness; but I doubt whether we can become good pacifists (or good at all) by setting out to consider our own development.

If we forget ourselves in an intense striving to make our ideals a practical reality in the world we may, as individuals, become nearer to them; and we shall certainly do something far more important.

MARION E. HAMLYN.
16 Morley Crescent, West,
Stanmore, Middlesex.

Palestine

Having recently returned from Quaker administrative work in the Near East, I feel constrained to write you with reference to the problem of Palestine. I do so because our press seems almost entirely misinformed about the realities of the situation.

We generally agree that Palestine is an imperial pawn. Recognizing this, can we equally agree that promises to this or that faction, without the prior agreement or consent of the people resident there, have no basis in morality? Why do we argue about the sanctity or honour of promises when the givers acts entirely from selfish and coercive motives? Admittedly, it is hard on the person who accepts in good faith such promises; but the results of endeavouring to honour an immoral promise are: thousands of Arab and Jewish orphans, homes blown up, trade stagnation, starvation and black despair.

The Arabs—friendly, hospitable, and kindly people—are hostile neither to Jews nor to Jewish immigration, but they are right in maintaining that they alone are the people to judge when such immigration shall cease. They have not been listened to because they are the victims of that evil thing we call imperialism.

ALFRED YOUNGS.
(late of Friends' Centre,
Brummana, Syria.)

7 Denison Road, Manchester.

The "Thetis"

I am gratefully pleased to read in the paper of Germany's tribute to the silent heroism of the sailors of the submarine Thetis, and I trust and hope your paper will express to Herr Hitler our pleasure that, in these times of so much political hatred, lying and deception, we still find sympathy creeps in from all quarters, even from our supposed enemies.

J. C. PAYNE.
51 Stockwell Grove, Knaresborough.

War on the Roads

I regret that under the Social Service section of the *Peace Service Handbook* no reference is made to the urgent need for workers in bringing to an end the war on the roads.

It is not generally known that since the Great War the number of victims of road accidents in Great Britain greatly exceeds the British casualties in that international calamity. Many of the victims are children killed or injured under circumstances of horror that could not be surpassed in modern warfare. Every week persons killed in road accidents outnumber the lives lost in the Thetis. That event is front-page news; the killings on the roads have ceased to be news.

T. C. FOLEY.
Secretary, The Pedestrians' Association.
3 Tudor Street, London, E.C.4.

A Christian Pacifist School

As the letter you recently published under the above heading seems to suggest that no such school yet exists, we think some of your readers may be glad to know of Kingsmoor School, Glossop, which was founded some dozen years ago with just the outlook apparently desired by the writers of the letter.

Having ourselves a boy and girl at Kingsmoor we should be happy to reply to any inquiries. A prospectus, &c., can, of course, be obtained from the overseer.

(Mr. & Mrs.) MAURICE COLE.
Rydal, Snaithing Park Road, Sheffield 10.

ON meeting recently a German pastor refugee on his way to USA, I took the opportunity of seeking first-hand information as to ARP.

He assured me that he had seen far, far less civil preparation in Germany than in this country. Gas masks were available only to *purchasers*, and he personally did not know a single person who possessed one. In the big towns there were certainly some underground shelters, but there were no metal shelters for back gardens, nor had he ever seen a trench in a park.

KATE STEVENS.
29 Southwood Avenue, Highgate, N.6.

A.R.P. in Schools

The implications of our pacifism continue to grow more complex.

In January, 1938, the Board of Education published a Circular (No. 1461) on ARP, deprecating respirator or air raid drill in schools in peace time, on account of its probable harmful effect upon the minds of growing children. Now, in its Circular No. 1467 the Board has reversed this policy and encourages any local education authority to introduce air raid drill into its schools, provided that proper care is taken of the gas masks!

Many of us view with dismay the probable effects of this new policy upon children. If their education is always to be carried on in the atmosphere of fear and insecurity which underlies all ARP, they will have less chance to grow in grace or the knowledge of God.

Fear is a cancer eating away the human soul, and thereby mitigating the possibility of true education. Three years ARP propaganda has had serious effects upon adult minds, making them less ready to adopt peace policies. How much worse will this propaganda be on the rising generation? Should we not be exposing such a dangerous revolution in educational policy before it is too late?

Are we going to claim the right to withdraw our children when ARP instruction takes place? Where there are a number of pacifists sending their children to the same school, this should be simple to arrange. But if there is only one pacifist's child in a school, it is open to question whether the worse psychology is created by ARP or by isolation from his fellows.

Teachers will be faced by yet another attempt to draw them into the military machine, but this time a compulsory measure. It is encouraging to know that many teachers will steadfastly resist this attempt, recognizing in it a measure of conscription for war purposes comparable to the Military Training Act.

I suggest that local groups should take steps to enlighten parents in their districts on the effects on their children. If any teachers who are anxious to resist this policy care to write to me, I shall be pleased to keep them in touch with others of like mind.

WILFRED GOOM.
124 Leigh Road, Westhoughton, Lancs.

Like many other "heads," my headmaster is a keen ARP worker, and as I must refuse to participate in gas-mask drill because of my conviction that war can be prevented by the refusal of enough people to co-operate in preparation for it, I am already in some danger of dismissal and certainly in danger of an uncomfortable time.

But in so far as education is concerned I am convinced that we have an unanswerable case, because war and all connected with it is a complete negation of all that education means. Some abler pen than mine will, I hope, be putting this matter forward.

Meanwhile, let us stand firm and risk the consequences, and if enough of us do so, the Board's decision may be reversed. Let us insist on Air Raid *Preventions*, not *Precautions*, and let us use every effort to turn sympathy to support.

A MOTHER OF SIX.

JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13: ON BREAKING RECORDS

WE live in an age of speed; faster and still faster we fly in the air and round the cinder track, and in keeping with this mad lust for movement, the nations seem bent on racing each other to destruction.

There is, however, a real need for quick thinking and rapid action, and it is thrilling to realize that the PPU is also hard at work breaking records. Simultaneously with the news of Wooderson's fine running on the track comes news that we have sold 100,000 copies of the *Peace Service Handbook* in three weeks! This is surely a record which will take some beating, but we mean to beat it by selling the second 100,000 in less time. But to do this we need your help. Some groups have already sold more than 1,000 copies and repeat orders are coming in rapidly. Will you help us?

The challenge I throw down is this:—

Set yourself the task of selling a 100 copies personally. Quite apart from group work or joint action buy your 100 and make a point of "selling-your-daily-dozen." Your slogan should be "Stop me and buy one." It is really quite easy if you will do your share. Let me quote you from two of many similar letters I have had:—

"At a recent ARP demonstration at Hillingdon, 200 *Peace Service Handbooks* were sold. On June 3 a big National Service Demonstration was held on Uxbridge Common, at which a further 120 were sold. Yesterday, June 10, a Hospital Fete was held at Hayes End, when we sold 350 of the Handbooks (permission having first been obtained from the organizers, all profits being handed over to them) . . . 1,100 Handbooks have been disposed of by this group up to date."

"Having disposed very easily of the 200 *Peace Service Handbooks* already sent me, I am getting reckless and ask you to forward me a further 1,000."

Isle of Wight

I spent the weekend in the Isle of Wight speaking at three meetings and making contacts which I feel sure are going to develop into great regional activity. The Isle of Wight has a natural centre in Newport and

What the Groups are Doing

NO less a person than the Civil Lord of the Admiralty (the MP for the division) was among the hundreds of purchasers of the *Peace Service Handbook* when the Uxbridge group sold them, by permission, at the hospital fete at Hayes End on Saturday.

The profits from the 350 sales were given to the local hospital. The group had already sold 120 at a "National Service" demonstration and 200 at an ARP demonstration.

Uxbridge, by the way, is the first group to respond to the request for flowers to decorate Headquarters. They are even going to send sprays of leaves in the winter months. Will others follow suit?

Enthusiasm in Oxford

FROM a brief survey of the activities of the Oxford City group during the past six weeks it would almost seem as if a new energy and enthusiasm had been discovered.

The most outstanding achievement has been the renting of fourteen prominent advertisement spaces within the city for the display of peace posters in conjunction with the Oxford University Pacifist Association.

At an Empire Day Defence Demonstration 2,000 leaflets were distributed while a further distribution was undertaken on "Conscription Day" outside the local labour exchange.

During the recent three-day visit of the Publicity Van much valuable propaganda work was accomplished in and around Oxford.

A Stir in Liverpool

ABOUT 180 people were present at the start of the Liverpool "pacifist march of witness" last Saturday. All pacifist groups in the district took part.

Practically every person carried a slogan of some kind—many were anti-conscription—and the march was headed by pacifist clergy. The route was through the main shopping centres and considerable comment was aroused, although there was no obvious opposition.

It is intended to hold a similar march on the other side of the Mersey—in Birkenhead—in two weeks.

Deputation to Thornbury M.P.

A DEPUTATION of constituents of the Thornbury Division, organized by the Staple Hill and Downend group of the PPU, met Sir Derrick Gunston, MP, recently to lay before him the results of the Peace Conference Petition organized by the National Peace Council, and of the deputation which waited upon the Prime Minister in March.

The Member for Thornbury Division had been previously sent a copy of the report of the deputation to the Prime Minister for his perusal, together with a list of influential people who had

all railways and roads radiate from it. It should be possible to set up an active group here which, by careful planning, permeates to all parts of the Island.

We had a grand open-air meeting in the centre of the town on Saturday night, and if only these could be kept going week by week in the same way that our Hyde Park meetings are now going, we should begin to make progress.

Are you going to spend your holidays in the Isle of Wight? If so, would you help by getting in touch with one of the following: Miss M. Tiffany, Hillside, Ventnor; Miss G. Jeffree, Queensbower Cottage, Newchurch; Mr. Hales, "Leon," Whiteley Bank, nr. Ventnor. I know holidays are not meant for this sort of thing, but time is urgent and the need is great. Do what you can by helping with public speaking or *Peace News* selling on one or two of your precious days.

Wembley Dick Sheppard Centre

Last Saturday Max Plowman opened the new Centre at Wembley. He spoke of the work being done by such centres all over the country and gave an inspiring talk on "The Faith called Pacifism." The one difficulty occurred when the 54 persons present wanted to sit down! There were very few chairs (and a table is desperately needed).

Could anyone help to make this centre a "going concern" by sending chairs or tables? Please write to me to say how many you can offer so that the local group can get on with the extra work they are planning.

Flowers By Request

Those who receive the Group Leaders' letter will know that we are anxious to have a rota of those members living in the country who have gardens and who would be willing to send flowers for Headquarters. Already this has been answered by the Uxbridge Group, who undertake to send us a bunch every Monday. If there are others who would like to be put on this list, it will help to make things "rosy."

P.S. Have you booked your place at Harrogate? If not there is still time.—DO IT NOW.

How a Peace Centre Was Formed

IN the dim light of the torch, it looked impossible. Some of the whitewash remained on the walls, but already much of it had been transferred to the clothes of the three optimistic young pacifists who were examining the place. Posters, window-stickers and other advertisements indicated that the building had once been used as a boot-repairer's workshop, but the floor was now cluttered with timber from the cabinet shop next door.

Anxious conferences followed. How many people would join in? How much would the decorating cost? Where would the furniture come from? Would enough money be raised each week for the rather heavy rent? Would any money come in? There were no answers to these questions, and so the leap was made in the dark.

The lady member of the "staff" now took command, and chose the shades of green and yellow for the distemper. Two pounds were borrowed (for an indefinite period), and the more constructive phase of the work began.

Five deck-chairs, a few forms and some kitchen chairs in varying stages of disrepair were acquired, and were followed by a gas-fire, a couple of card-tables and a tin trunk. Then out went the first circular to the ninety-odd signatories in the immediate locality, and the first meeting was held.

In spite of the awkwardness of the date and the weather, four people were present in addition to the original three, and it was decided to give the place a three months' trial, during which period the neighbouring group agreed also to try it out as a headquarters.

The financial sacrifices of the members have been amazing, but not one regrets them. If the place has to go, we can all say, "It was great while it lasted." But we hope that it will remain ours, and that, when the new world we are trying to create has become a reality and "Dick Sheppard Centres" are scheduled as national monuments, we shall be able still to sit in the deck-chairs, look around the familiar walls and say, "I remember . . ."

Ronald Smith

The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

Meetings

Bournemouth.—First Tuesday in every month, public meeting in Wesley Hall, Southbourne Road 8 p.m. Open-air meetings during next three months at Tuckton Bridge, Southbourne Cross Road, Junction Beaufort Road and Cranleigh Road, and Fishermans Walk.

Westminster.—Thursday group meetings at Horseferry Road will be discontinued until September. Open-air meetings every Friday at 7.45 p.m. at the corner of Wilton Road and Longmore Street.

Blackheath.—Open-air meetings every Sunday, 7 p.m., at Whitfield's Mount (near Cricket Pitch).

Liverpool.—Waterloo and Crosby group of Christian Pacifists hold open-air meetings on shore-bottom of South Road—every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m.

Poster Parades

Dorking.—Cooperative Hall at 3.30 p.m. Reigate Friends' Meeting House at 5.30 p.m.

Parades from Dick Sheppard House on Saturday evenings discontinued until further notice. "Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Orpington.—Every Saturday evening two members will sell in Orpington High Street. Volunteers wanted. Write W. G. Howard, 11 Willett Close, Pettswood, Kent.

Edinburgh.—Anyone willing to sell please write to T. K. Wolfe, Peace Pledge Union Room, 12 Picardy Place, Edinburgh.

Birmingham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday between 4.30 and 7.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burtt, 22 Hemycroft Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Glasgow.—Mass selling of *Peace News* and *Peace Service Handbook* tomorrow (Saturday).

PPU Office, 534 Sauchiehall Street, at 8 p.m.

Gravesend.—Meet at Clock Tower at 6 p.m. for mass selling. 7.30 p.m. open-air meeting at bottom of Parrock Street.

Friday and Saturdays; also assist on Market "Peace Stall" support No-Conscription League's meetings on sands, 8 p.m., Sundays.—*Peace News* information from A. G. Sparkes, 9 Malvern Terrace, Brynmill, Swansea.

Sellers wanted every Sunday in connexion with Hyde Park stand. Full particulars from D. Hill, 127 Uxbridge Road, London W.12.

Sparkhill and Sparkbrook.—Members here wish to maintain six selling posts every Friday (5.30 to 8 p.m.). Write Ronald A. King, 59 Bushmore Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

Miscellaneous

A permanent mock tribunal, resembling as nearly as possible those to be appointed under the Military Training Act, is to be set up shortly in London. All those wishing to appear before this body to "try out" their case for exemption, also any who are willing to sit as members of it, please write to Secretary, Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors, 84 Review Road, Cricklewood, N.W.2.

Jumble Sale.—Organized by Westminster group on July 15 in aid of group funds. Saleable articles of all descriptions will be welcomed and should be sent to W. J. Gilmore, 6, Bessborough Place, S.W.1, or will be collected on receipt of a postcard to this address.

Will anyone able to offer even temporary hospitality for children who are already in this country communicate with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex? There is no question of a guarantee being given.

REPORT FROM THE PUBLICITY VAN

The policy of taking pacifism to the country is being continued this year with a fair amount of success. The PPU Publicity Van, starting on May 1 in Cheltenham and a downpour of rain, has been touring Somerset, Devon and Hampshire, and is now touring northward through the Midlands on its journey to Scotland.

In the villages, there are never large crowds, but enough interest is generally aroused for the van to be chief topic of village gossip for the following week.

In Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth, crowds of about 250 gathered, while in Newton Abbot there were quite 400 at one time.

In the villages around Winchester entirely fresh ground was broken, one Terrier said "he'd never heard anybody talk like we did." And a meeting was held at NETHER WALLOP, not that there's anything in that, but it just goes to show.

And so the Van goes on.

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Forthcoming Events

- As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to:
1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
 2. Include: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; meeting for all COs; Fenner Brockway and others on "The Challenge of the CO"; Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison and Kenneth Lee; PPU.

KINGS CROSS; 8 p.m. Methodist Mission Room, Crestfield Street; Mock Trial of COs; PPU.

Sat. & Sun., June 17 & 18

LEWES; YMCA, High Street; Peace Weekend; Saturday, 3.30 p.m. R. H. Ward and Minnie Pallister; 6.30 p.m. public meeting—Muriel Lester; Sunday, 3 p.m., Rev. D. Lockhart and Rev. K. Rawlings; 8 p.m., public meeting—Dr. D. A. Crow, R. H. Ward and Marquis of Tavistock; PPU.

Sat. to Sat., June 17 to 24

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; Town Moor; Peace Marquee; PPU.

Sunday, June 18

HYDE PARK Stand; 3 p.m. John Barclay; PPU. **EDALE;** 6.30 p.m. outside Church Hotel (if wet, in garage of Church Hotel); open-air meeting; A. Joe Brayshaw, Ben Smith, Alfred Youngs; chairman, Lawrence Fitton (to be preceded by Ramble from outside Church Hotel, 3 p.m.; tea at Church Hotel, 5.30 p.m.); Society of Friends, Cheshire Monthly Meeting Peace Committee. **LONDON, W.C.1;** 6.30 p.m. Victoria Hall, Bloomsbury Square; Guildhouse Fellowship Service; Dr. Maude Royden on "How to Stand Alone." **NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE;** 7.45 p.m. Town Moor; open-air meeting; Andrew Stewart, William Berry and George Reavley (chairman); PPU. **LEYTONSTONE;** 8 p.m. Forest Land, Green Man; open-air meeting; John Barclay, John Fletcher and Rev. C. W. Harrington (chairman); PPU. **ST ALBANS;** 8 p.m. Marlborough Road Methodist School Hall; Rev. Leslie Brewer on "The New Way to Peace"; Claude B. Fytche (chairman); FoR.

Monday, June 19

BLACKBURN; 4.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, King Street; opening of World Friendship Exhibition; Laurence Housman; admission free. **BLACKBURN;** 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Limbrick; Laurence Housman, Helen B. Byles Ford and Rev. Dr. W. A. Painter (chairman); PPU. **HOUNSLOW;** 7.30 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Hanworth Road; International Party; PPU.

Tuesday, June 20

LONDON, E.C.4; 12.10 p.m. Rev. Phyllis Webber on "Unemployment"; City PPU group. **TOWER HILL;** 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; G. Norman and Preston Benson; City PPU group. **BURNLEY;** 7.30 p.m. Mechanics Institute, Manchester Road; Laurence Housman, Ald. R. Bland and Rev. N. W. Calvin (chairman); PPU. **IVYBRIDGE;** 7.30 p.m. Village; Wilfred Wellock and others; PPU.

Wednesday, June 21

PLYMOUTH; 7 p.m. Market Square; Wilfred Wellock and others; PPU. **MORECAMBE;** 7.45 p.m. Lupton Hall, Laurence Housman and Rev. J. H. Davies; PPU. **BAYSWATER;** 8.15 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Dr. A. Maude Royden on "My Philosophy"; PPU.

BLACKHEATH; 8.15 p.m. 34 Blackheath Park; group meeting; Rev. Phyllis Webber on "Christ and Unemployment"; FoR.

GOLDERS GREEN; 8.15 p.m. The Institute, Central Square; public debate on "Is Christianity a Religion of Peace?"; for: Dr. A. Herbert Gray; against: Leonard Ebury; PPU.

Thursday, June 22

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Percy Barlett on "What do we do Now?"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Leonard Jolly on "The Italian claims on France"; City PPU group.

PAIGNTON; 7 p.m. The Green; Wilfred Wellock and others; PPU.

BETHNAL GREEN; 8 p.m. Victoria Park Square; Preston Benson and Charles H. Haworth (chairman); PPU.

Friday, June 23

EXETER; 7.30 p.m. Fountain (Top of Sidwell Street); Wilfred Wellock and others.

KENDAL; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Laurence Housman and Rev. H. Oliver Evans (chairman); PPU.

SUNDERLAND; 7.30 p.m. Elim Church, Bedford Street; Mr. F. A. Jennings on "Toward a Christian Economic"; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; R. Snell on "Education for Citizenship"; PPU.

BAYSWATER; 8.15 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; film: *Land of Promise*, featuring life in the Palestine Community Settlements; PPU.

Saturday, June 24

LONDON, N.W.1; 3 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; North London Conference of No Conscription League; Dr. C. A. Smith, Kenneth Lee and W. H. Morris; details from K. R. Plumer, 184 Tottenham Lane, London, N.8

CUT THIS OUT FOR REFERENCE

C.O.'s Advisory Bureaux

LIST OF ADDITIONS AND AMENDMENTS

LAST week we published a list of secretaries of advisory bureaux all over the country already known to the National Joint Advisory Bureau at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Following is a list of alterations and additions, and we hope to publish further lists in later issues of Peace News.

ALTERATIONS

London

BERMONSEY. Mr. J. Douglas, 60b Fort Road, S.E.1. **PLYMOUTH.** Friends' Meeting House, Swarthmore, Mutley Plain, Plymouth. **SHADWELL.** Mr. J. E. Hoare, 293 The Highway, Shadwell, E.1. **WILLESDEN.** Miss L. Behenna, 88 Kempe Road, N.W.6.

Provinces

BEXHILL. Miss W. Rawlins, 2 Rotherfield Avenue, Bexhill. **BRADFORD.** Rev. D. A. Foster, St. Stephen's Vicarage, West Bowling, Bradford. **CROYDON.** Mr. Mark Hayler, 65 Tennyson Road, S.W.25. **GUILDFORD.** Carl Heath, Whitewings, Manor Way, Guildford. **HARROGATE.** Miss Tennant, Fairlawne, Boroughbridge Road, Knaresborough, Yorks. **HORSHAM.** Frank Moreton, Billingshurst, Sussex. **LINCOLN.** Theodore Burtt, 13 St. Alban Mount, Leeds 9. **MANCHESTER.** Mr. A. Brayshaw, 11 Rowan Avenue, Whalley Range, Manchester 16. **PORSCOMBE AND SOUTHSEA.** Clifford Hancock, 18 Worthing Road, Southsea. **UXBRIDGE.** Louisa Narraway, 102 Pole Hill Road, Hillingdon Heath, Uxbridge. **WAKEFIELD.** 22 Oakes Street, Flanshaw, Wakefield. **WORTHING.** Mr. L. Tennant, 19 Arsheal Close, Worthing.

ADDITIONS

London

ABERGAVENNY. PPU. **BRADFORD.** 112 Morley Street, Bradford. **CHELSEA.** Mr. J. F. Brown, 111 King's Road, S.W.3. **DALSTON.** Charles Haworth, 18 Victoria Park Square, E.2. **EDMONTON.** Mr. A. E. Bayntun, 108 Town Road, N.9. **FOREST GATE.** Mr. J. Curson, 126 Hampton Road, Ilford. **HORNSEY.** Mr. Robert Avery, 160 Muswell Hill Road, N.10 and Mr. Gordon Turner, 6. Palace Court Gardens, Muswell Hill, N.10. **STREATHAM.** Mrs. Clegg, 62 Strathbrook Road, S.W.16. **TOTTENHAM.** PPU. **WEMBLEY.** Mr. S. E. Peat, 1 Ashton Court, Greenford Road, Harrow, or Dick Sheppard Centre, 161 High Road, Wembley. **WIMBLEDON.** Mr. H. A. Gosden, 6 Gordondale Road, S.W.19.

Provinces

ARGUS, FIFE AND PERTHSHIRE. Rev. E. S. Tcwill, 27 Windsor Drive, Dundee. **AYLESBURY.** Mr. R. E. Frost, "Quantock," Meadoway, Berkhamsted, Herts.

Don't Let Crises Interfere With Your Holiday

HAVE you booked your place at the Peace Pledge Union summer conference yet? Is there any need to remind you of the date and place—July 29 to August 8 at the Pannal Ash College, Harrogate?

It might be as well to remind you, though, that there is only a limited number of

BARNET AND POTTERS BAR. Mr. Percy Woods, 8 Heath Drive, Potters Bar, Middlesex. **BETHESDA.** Rev. T. Arthur Jones, 20 Ogwen Terrace, Bethesda, Wales.

BIRMINGHAM. Friends' Meeting House, Bull Street, Birmingham. **BOURNEMOUTH.** PPU. **BOURNEVILLE.** Mr. J. D. Maynard, 10 Weoley Hill, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29. **CAMBRIDGE.** Edward Johnson, 25 Cherryhinton Road, Cambridge.

COBHAM. John Lord, High Elm, Oak Road, Cobham, Surrey. **DERBY.** Society of Friends.

DOLGELLY. Mr. R. Bishop, King's, Dolgelly.

GREENFORD. H. V. Fuller, 588 Whitton Avenue, Greenford, Middlesex.

HULL. Anthony Cadbury, 37 De La Pole Avenue, Hull.

KEIGHLEY. John Pawson, 4 Starkies Street, Keighley.

LEICESTER. Stanley Smith, 14 Humberstone Drive, Leicester.

LEIGH-ON-SEA. Cecil Cox, 37 Kingwood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea.

LIVERPOOL. Peace Committee Sec., Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street, Liverpool.

NEWARK-ON-TRENT. Mr. S. Gibbon, 55 Victoria Street, Newark-on-Trent.

NORTHWOOD. Mr. J. R. Wilde, Dolfor, Wolsey Read, Moor Park, Northwood, Middlesex.

OLDHAM. Mrs. Elsie Healey, Stedway, Boars-hurst, Greenfield, near Oldham.

PRESTON. Mr. F. Bancroft, Knowle Green.

FREESTON. Mr. F. Bancroft, Knowle Green, Longridge, near Preston.

PURLEY. Charles Knight, 14 Coulsdon Rise, Coulsdon, Surrey.

RICHMOND. Mr. G. D. Piper, Sandycombe Road, Richmond, Surrey.

READING. Mrs. M. Castle, Reckitt House, Leighton Park, Reading.

ROMORD AND HORNCOURT. Christobel Cowles, 19 Tudor Drive, Gidea Park, Essex.

ST. ALBANS. Mrs. Merkins, Friends' Meeting House, Upper Latimore Road, St. Albans.

SHEFFIELD. Charles Doncaster, 111 Osborne Road, Sheffield.

SIDCOT. Mr. R. W. Pask, Rose Cottage, Winscombe, Somerset.

SLOUGH. J. Fletcher Porter, 103 Windsor Road, Slough.

STAFFORD. Hon. Sec., 8 Baswich Lane, Weeping Cross, Stafford.

STOKE-ON-TRENT. Mr. E. Kershaw, 398, Liver-pool Road, Newcastle, Staffs, and Mr. C. A. Scrimgeour, "Inn.skeen," Sandon Road, Longton, Stoke-on-Trent.

STROUD AND NAILSWORTH. Society of Friends.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS. Mr. M. Cranston, 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

WAKEFIELD. Rev. J. B. Tenkin, Springstone House, Ossett, Yorks.

WARRINGTON. C. V. Moore, 31 March House, Lane, Warrington, Lancs.

WORCESTER. Mrs. Spence, Eckington Manor, Pershore, Worcs.

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ACCOMMODATION

To Let

FURNISHED BUNGALOW near sea. Three bedrooms, modern conveniences. June to September.—Colwyn, Shaftesbury Road, Rustington, Sussex.

WEST WORTHING. Comfortably Furnished Cottage near sea. Three bedrooms. Small garage. Modern conveniences. From July 29th.—38 Songley Road, Tooting.

FOR SALE

£25. 1934 MORRIS 12 Saloon de Luxe, in good mechanical condition. Also

£15. 1932 MODEL WOLSELEY HORNET open tourer. A. Leslie Jarratt, Churchfield Avenue, N.12. Hil. 2744.

LITERATURE

AUTHORS. Experienced agent negotiates MSS all types, specially for book publication. Commission only; no charges.—Fleet Street Literary Agency, Sentinel House, Southampton Row, London.

MEETINGS, &c.

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED to the Nort's London Conference of the No Conscription League in Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1, on Saturday, June 24, from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. Tickets (6d.) at door. Dr. C. A. Smith (ILP), Mr. Kenneth Lee (PPU), Mr. W. H. Morris (Pros. Lab. Candidate, Hampstead).

PERSONAL

A NOMINAL GUARANTOR needed for a German Jewish Doctor of Economics (Quaker). Age 60, wishes to join Cotswold Bruderhof and has been accepted. £150 already promised. Would any person willing to sign the guarantee communicate with Box 179, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

GERMAN PACIFIST LADY, 39, Dr. Phil., speaks English, French, Italian, can do shorthand and typing. Would anyone give her hospitality, a job, or as governess?—Write David Spreckley, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

TWO UNEMPLOYED PACIFISTS ... any transport, Truro—London—Colchester, June 24 and 25. Returning from IVSP work—Read, Carclew House, Perranarworthal, Truro.

SERVICES

DR. MAUDE ROYDEN, C.H., Guildhouse Fellowship Service, Victoria Hall (North) Bloomsbury Square, W.C.1. Sunday, June 18. 6.30 p.m. "How to Stand Alone" Discussion afterwards.

SITUATIONS

WANTED DOMESTIC SERVANT. Post required for married couple still in Germany; one child, girl, aged six. Practical experience housework, gardening; wife also manicurist.—Specially recommended by Th. K., 48 Hans Place, S.W.1.

Germany & Britain

Continued from Page 1

policy of encirclement, the unworthy begging for a treaty from all States of the earth—even the Soviet Union—arouse sad memories in me. They remind me of the terrible English blockade after the World War which taught me as a child to know hunger. They remind me of the terrible consequences of the Versailles Dictate, of the inflation, and of the unemployment of my father. They remind me that I, as a working student, had to sew on buttons as a home worker for a Jewish exploiter in order to finance my studies with these "earnings."

All Germans think as I do. We love peace and do not want a war. But what we value most is the freedom won back for us by Adolf Hitler. For that means for us work and confidence in the future.

Adolf Hitler said, shortly after the aggressive speeches of British and French statesmen, the next Session of the Reichstag in 1939 will be called the "Session of Peace." You will have served the cause of world peace when you help to realize the wish of the Führer. Explain to your fellow countrymen that in Germany no-one thinks of letting loose a war and attacking England. Work to create an understanding between the British people and the Germans. Oppose the encirclement policy of your Government. Oppose the wish of your country to make common cause with Soviet Russia, the State which has exterminated Christianity.

I take it that you will doubt the sincerity of my letter as little as I have doubted yours. I do not know whether you have yet visited the new Germany. If not, please do so soon. You will find a happy people which loves freedom, peace, work, and above all its leader.

Heil Hitler.
(Signed) W. BERGMANN.

Could the two opinions in our own country at the moment—the pacifist minority and the militant majority—be better offset than in these two German opinions?

MORE MUST BE SENT

The PPU is anxious that letters should be continually despatched to Germany in the interests of mutual understanding. Have you sent one yet?

Drafts of letters in German, with translation, and a list of addresses may be had from PPU Headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

VISITS TO GERMANY

Recently we announced that the Rev. Leslie Weatherhead, minister of the City Temple, London, is sponsoring a series of visits to Germany arranged by World Friendship Tours, Ltd., Wellington House, 125, Strand, W.C.2.

Parties will be leaving every Saturday from June 24 to August 26. Many German contacts have been made, and Germans will participate in the excursions.

Full details may be had from World Friendship Tours, Ltd., or from David Spreckley, at PPU Headquarters.

(See last week's *Peace News*, *Letters to the Editor*, for details of other facilities for informal travel in Germany).

WORKING PARTY SCHEMES

An opportunity for young people to do some active peace service in Germany will be provided by a work camp to be held at a Youth Hostel on the Rhine.

The work will be in the garden and in the vineyard adjoining, and will be organized in fortnightly periods.

Parties leave on July 29 and August 12th. Approximate cost, £7.

Volunteers are also sought to join a party of Germans coming to this country to work on a farm for a fortnight beginning August 13.

Approximate cost, £3. This scheme is open to people of both sexes under the age of 30.

Fuller details of both schemes may be had from David Spreckley, PPU Headquarters.

Our Best-Selling Handbook

ORDERS continue to come in for copies of the *Peace Service Handbook*.

The second 100,000 copies have been delivered to Dick Sheppard House, and 3,000 of them have already been distributed.

Messrs. Wyman & Sons have undertaken to display the *Handbook* on all their stalls, and in addition they have promised to show posters where paid for.

Copies have been sent all over the country, and reports show that the *Handbook* is proving to be a successful counterblast to the Government's *National Service Handbook*.

(See John Barclay's Notes, page 10.)

**CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
16th June, 1939**

A Pacifist Commentary

Hopes of a More Enlightened Foreign Policy: Totalitarian Trends A General Election Tip

Lord HALIFAX'S speech in the House of Lords, on Thursday of last week (which he defended, in Monday's continuation of the debate, against the suspicions of the Opposition) may well prove to be the beginning (not to say that it is not long overdue) of a more enlightened and realistic foreign policy on the part of the Government.

After making a general survey of recent events which will be familiar to most readers, the Foreign Secretary concluded with a peroration worthy of especial note.

"No settlement," Lord Halifax said, "that it was sought to impose unilaterally, by force, without proper consideration for the claims on the other side, could be described as just.... However difficult it might be to get a settlement that would completely satisfy both sides, it was certainly true that no settlement by negotiation could be worse than or as bad as a settlement achieved by war." He then went on to offer what seemed to amount to an "olive branch" to Germany, suggesting a conference to sort out the difficulties.

Lord Ponsonby thought that there were hopeful signs in the expressed intentions of the speech, and said he hoped that Lord Halifax would not wait for an opportunity—for attempting to negotiate an equitable settlement with Germany and all the other countries with alleged grievances arising out of being one of the "have-nots"—but would make it.

The Government will make a serious mistake if it thinks that the "claims of both sides can be completely satisfied." The reason for conference should be an impartial examination of all claims and counter claims; and the famous legal maxim, which is one of the primary rules of justice, *Nullus commodum capere potest de injuria sua propria* (No one can take advantage of his own wrong) should be strictly observed by all parties.

We hope to publish Lord Ponsonby's speech more fully next week, especially as it also provided an answer to the Labour Party's concern—expressed in the Commons on Monday by Mr. Hugh Dalton—about the delay in the Soviet pact negotiations.

Astounding Speech

ACCORDING to *Reynolds News* (June 11, 1939) newspaper representatives attending the memorial service at St. Martin-in-the-Fields for the *Thetis* victims were forbidden to take the names of those attending—on the ground that the service had been organized by the Admiralty. Red tape at its best.

Whilst it may seem so very trivial, it is important to register now to what extent the official mind will go to in peace time. What it may go to (without provocation)—if this is at all a fair indication—in war time, must be left to the individual imagination.

Much more important was the speech of Lord Bayford, President of the Association of Conservative Clubs, on Saturday. It was as astounding as it was indiscreet from a party point of view, and one which must give rise to much public concern if it reflects the true temper of the feeling within the Tory Party itself.

He said, "These are not the times in which to play the game of party politics. I am not sure that it would not help things if the House of Commons" (he makes no reference to the Lords) "were to go on holiday for a bit. A Ministry now in power in France has taken powers which really lets it run the country on its own without interference by Parliamentary parties. That is what we want in this country."

It is because of these "signs and portents" that many of us are saying, "Conscription today, what tomorrow?"

Public opinion can still formulate national policy if it is emphatic enough. Therefore, let us always, in season and out of season, with a full sense of a personal responsibility in the matter, fearlessly proclaim and work for those ideals which should be so precious to us.

Totalitarianism?

THE Supply Bill, in the House of Commons, has received its second reading, and the new Minister, Mr. Burgin,

should you be returned to the House of Commons at the next General Election, vote for the repeal of the Act?" It would be rendering the cause of peace in this country a most valuable service if questions of this type were put at every political meeting between now and the General Election.

Peace Pledge Union headquarters will shortly issue suggested questions for this purpose, and the results would be welcomed by *Peace News*, though not necessarily for publication.

He went on to say how his department would be responsible for all incidental supplies, including machine tools, clothing, mechanical transport, essential commodities, &c.

If this is not a totalitarian authority, then what is it? It illustrates how the whole country is gradually but surely, becoming enmeshed, in peacetime, in a war machine. Pacifists employed in work which today may seem quite innocuous, may arrive the next day to find that they have to do something—unless they are willing (or able) to face the penalty of refusing—quite incompatible with their conscience.

The Supply Bill, Conscription, &c., must not deter us in our struggle for justice and freedom, rather they should make us more determined that the necessity for increasing our activities is all the more urgent.

Royal Tour

THE visit of the King and Queen to the USA over the weekend has been marked by scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm, which we neither envy nor deny. But the purpose of referring to it here is because nine out of ten newspapers have contained articles couched in the most graphic language describing the crossing over from Canada and how the two countries are only separated by a technical frontier which is unprotected, and stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, covering a distance of nearly 4,000 miles. A Maginot Line on one side of a frontier and a Siegfried Line on the other can never serve as a harbinger of peace.

The ex-Kaiser, in an interview this week, is reported to have said, "Providence never intended that there should be a World Empire. All attempts in history to achieve world domination have failed." Coming from a would have been Emperor of the World, present (and embryonic) dictators should ponder this opinion. It would save a lot of further trouble if it were seriously taken to heart!

General Election

PARTY organizers, this week, have been speculating on the date of the General Election. Therefore, for the next few months, it would do much to clarify the position if all political organizations, Members of Parliament, prospective parliamentary candidates, &c., were approached and asked to give their views on conscription, collective security, imperialism, and so on, as by an agitation of this kind public opinion is formulated.

Why not ask your member and parliamentary candidates the direct question, "Are you in favour of the Military Training Act (Conscription)?" If the reply is a negative one, then follow it up with, "Will

you, should you be returned to the House of Commons at the next General Election, vote for the repeal of the Act?" It would be rendering the cause of peace in this country a most valuable service if questions of this type were put at every political meeting between now and the General Election.

Peace Pledge Union headquarters will shortly issue suggested questions for this purpose, and the results would be welcomed by *Peace News*, though not necessarily for publication.

Sugar Distribution

THE International Sugar Council meets in London this week. The Council is the co-ordinating machinery for practically all the sugar producers in the world, and through this quotas, &c., are fixed.

Already agreement has been reached between the members to the release of extra allowances to Cuba and Java. The August (forward) prices have thus been brought down from 8s. to 6s. 10d. per cwt.

This is organized in the interest of profit and not for the benefit of the consumers. Nevertheless, it does indicate how far international markets can be successfully regulated. Similar arrangements apply to wheat, cotton, rubber, &c. Surely knowledge of this nature lends support to the feasibility of the suggestion of distributing the essential commodities of the world—and delineating the markets—according to social necessity rather than private gain: thus removing to a large degree the cause of national rivalry?

Certainly the redistribution of colonies would not be a solution to the problem—this does not, of course, take into account the moral question as to the right of self-determination of the native peoples, which should be the primary pacifist consideration.

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Movement Formed to Rouse the Public Conscience

THE National Association Against Unemployment was formed at a meeting in Kingsway Hall, London, on Tuesday, when the following provisional officers were elected:

Chairman, Dr. Donald Soper; treasurer the Bishop of Stepney; secretary, Mr. William G. Millman.

Council: Father St. John B. Groser, Mr. Howard Marshall, Dr. C. E. M. Joad, Rev. Leslie Artingstall, Canon Stuart Morris, Rev. Gilbert Shaw, Mr. Vernon Bartlett, MP, Mr. Andrew Stewart, Mr. Turnour Jackson, Mr. Maurice Briar.

This provisional body is to meet to discuss plans and report to a further meeting of members of the Association.

Answering questions at the meeting on Tuesday, Dr. Soper, who presided, said: "I am convinced that the supreme job we can do is the awakening of public opinion about unemployment, as it has in fact not yet been awakened."

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News," Ltd. (Registered Office, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1), and printed for them by The Walthamstow Press, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House, Forest Road, London, E.17.

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DELIVER "PEACE NEWS"
EVERY WEEK

170 BUREAUX TO AID OBJECTORS
Bureaux to aid objectors now number
over 170. Latest list appears on page 11.
Rumoured on Wednesday that there will
be 11 tribunals for England and Wales,
4 for Scotland.

STOP PRESS